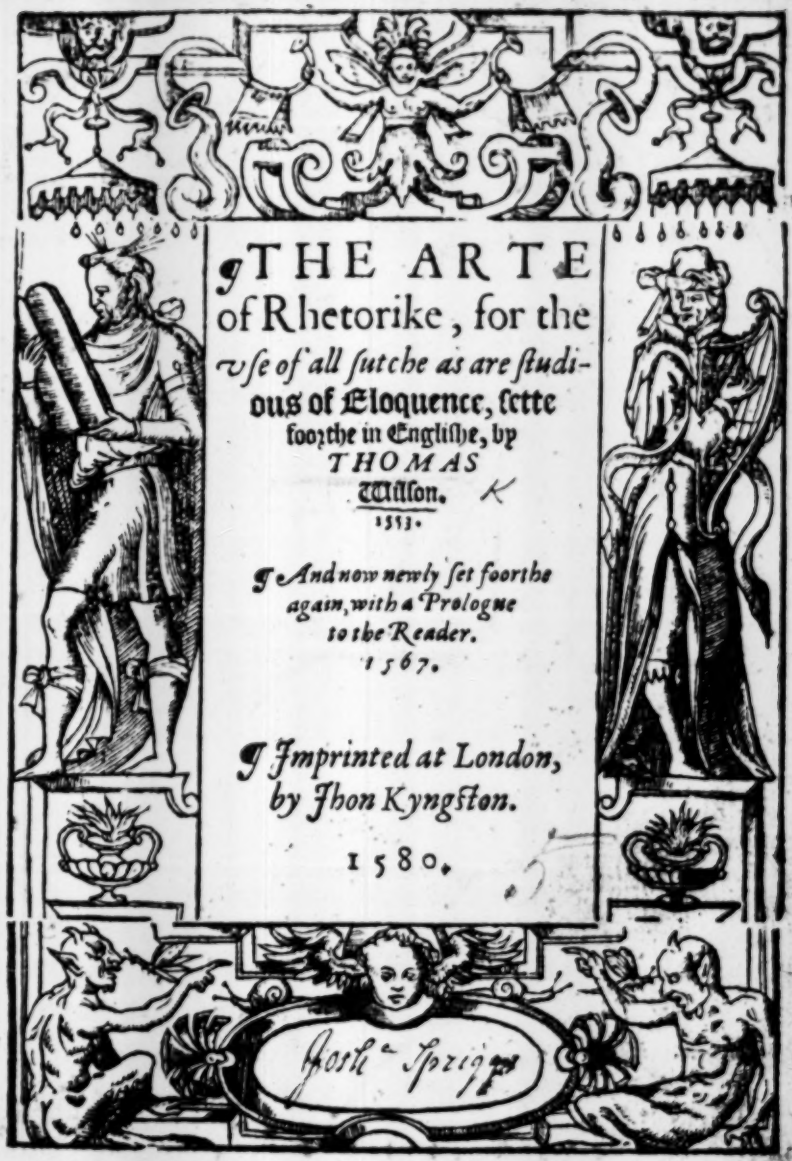


THE ARTE of Rhetorike, for the vſe of all ſuche as are ſtudious of Eloquence, ſette foorthe in Engliſhe, by THOMAS Wilſon.

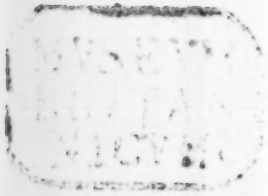
1553.

And now newly ſet foorthe again, with a Prologue to the Reader.

1567.

Imprinted at London, by Jhon Kyngſton.

1580.



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE Lorde Ihon Dudley,

Lorde Liſle, Erle of VVarwicke, and maiſter of the horſe to the kinges Maieſtie: your aſſured to commaunde *Thomas Wilſon.*

WHEN *Pirrhus king of the Epirotes made battaile againſte the Romaines, and could neither by force of armes, nor yet by any policie winne certain ſtrong holdes: He vſed commonly to ſende one Cineas (a noble Orator, and ſomtymes Scholer to Demoſthenes) to perſwade with the Capitaines and people that were in them, that thei ſhould yeld vp the ſaied holde or tounes without fight or reſiſtaunce. And ſo it came to paſſe, that through the pithie eloquence of this noble Orator, diuers ſtrong Caſtelles and Fortreſſes were peaceably giuen vp into the handes of Pirrhus, whiche he ſhould haue founde verie harde and tedious to winne by the ſworde. And this thyng was not Pirrhus hymſelf aſhamed in his common talke, to the praiſe of the ſaied Orator openly to confeſſe: alledging that Cineus*

neus through the cloquence of his tongue, wan moe Citees vnto hym, then euer hymſelf ſhould els haue beene able by force to ſubdue. Good was that Orator whiche could dooe ſo muche: and wiſe was that Kyng whiche would vſe ſutche a meane. For if the worthineſſe of eloquence maie moue vs, what worthier thyng can there bee, then with a woorde to winne Citees and whole Countrees? Jf profite maie perſwade, what greater gaine can wee haue, then without bloodſhedd achiue to a conqueſt? Jf pleaſure maie prouoke vs, what greater delite doe wee knowe, then to ſee a whole multitude, with the onely talke of man, rauiſhed and drawen whiche waie he liketh beſte to haue them? Boldly then maie J aduenture, and without feare ſteppe forthe to offer that vnto your Lordſhipp, whiche for the dignitie is ſo excellente, and for the vſe ſo neceſſarie: that no man ought to bee without it, whiche either ſhall beare rule ouer many, or muſte haue to dooe with matters of a Realme. Conſideryng therefore your Lordſhippes high eſtate and worthie callyng, J knowe nothyng more ſittyng with your honor, then to the gift of good reaſon & vnderſtandyng, wherwith we ſee you notablie endued, to ioyne the perfection of Eloquente vtteraunce. And becauſe that

aſwell

aſwell by your Lordſhipps moſte tender imbracyng of all ſuche as be learned, as alſo by your right ſtudious exerciſes, you doe euidently declare, not onely what eſtimation you haue, of all learnyng and excellente qualities in generall, but alſo what a ſpeciall deſire and affection, you beare to Eloquence: I therefore, commende to your Lordeſhippes tuition and patronage, this treatiſe of Rhetorique, to the ende that ye maie gette ſome further aunce by the ſame, and I alſo be diſchanged of my faithfull promiſe, this laſte yeare made vnto you. For, whereas it hath pleaſed you emong other talke of learnyng, earneſtly to wiſhe, that ye might one daie ſee the preceptes of Rhetorique, ſette forthe by me in Engliſhe, as I had erſte doen the rules of Logike: hauyng in my countrey this laſt Sommer, a quiet time of vacation, with the right worſhipfull Sir Edwarde Dimmoke Knight: I trauailed ſo muche, as my leaſure might ſerue thereunto, not onely to declare my good harte, to the ſatiſſiyng of your requeſte in that behalfe, but alſo through that your motion, to helpe the towardneſſe of ſome other, not ſo well furniſhed as your Lordeſhippe is.

For, as touchyng your ſelf, by the tyme that perfecte experience, of manyfolde and weightie mat-

ters of the common weale, shall haue encreased the Eloquence, whiche alreadie doeth naturally flowe in you: I doubte nothyng, but you will so farre bee better then this my Booke, that I shall not onely bloushe to chalenge you for a Scholer, in the Arte of Rhetorique, by me rudely sette forthe: but also bee driuen to set this simple treatise, to your Lordeship to schoole, that it maie learne Rhetorique of your daiely talke, findyng you suche an Oratour in your speeche, as greate Clarkes doe declare what an Oratour should be.

In the meane season, I shall right humbly beseeche your good Lordeship, so to bee a patrone and defendour of these my labours, to you dedicated: as I shalbe a continuall peticioner vnto almightie God, for your preseruation, and long continuaunce.

¶ A Prologue to the Reader.

GREATE maie their boldenesse be thought, that seeke without feare to set forthe their knowledge: and suffer their doynges to be seen, thei care not of whom. For, not onely thereby doe they bryng menne to thinke, that thei standе muche in their owne conceyte, but also they seeme to assure themselues, that all men will like whatsoeuer they write. Wherein thei commit two greate faultes: the one is, that they are proude: the other is, that they are fonde. For, what greater pride can there be, then for any manne to thinke hymself to be wiser, then all menne liuyng? Or what greater folly can be immagined, then for one to thinke, that all menne will like, what soeuer he writeth? Suche are thei for the moste parte by all likelihode, that doe set forthe bookes. Wherein they doe bothe betraie themselues, and also giue greate occasion to the worlde, to talke largely of them. But all those that doe write, are not suche as I saie, nor meane not as I thinke, as the whiche are wise and learned men, writyng onely vnder the correction of others, to edifie their neighbour, and not seekyng in any wise their owne glorie. Neither all that be readers will talke their pleasures, but rather staie their iudgementes, and weye thynges with reason. Some perhappes maie like the writer, if his doynges bee good, but the moste parte vndoubtedly, must of force be offended, as the whiche are corrupte of iudgement, because thei are nought. Then suche as seeke the greatest praise for writyng of Bookes, should doe beste in my simple mynde to write foolishe toyes, for then the moste parte would best esteeme them. And herein perhappes maie I get some aduauntage, that in my young yeres, haue been bolde

to set forth my simple fantasies. For, in folly I dare compare with the proudest, and in pride I dare matche with hym that is moste foolishe: not doubtyng to finde suche fellowes, that not onely will seke to be egall vnto me, and perhappes excell me, but also suche as will therein right well esteme me.

Cicero in his seconde booke *de Oratore*, bringeth in one *Lucilius*, a pleasaunt and merie conceipted manne, who saieth, that he would not haue suche thynges as he wrote to bee redde, either of those that were excellently learned, or of them that were altogether ignoraunt. For, that the one would thinke more of his doynges, and haue a farther meanyng with hym, then euer the aucthour self thought: the other takyng the booke in his hande, would vnderstande nothyng at all, beyng as meete to reade auncthours, as an Asse to plaie on the Organnes. This man in thus saiyng, had some reason. But I beyng somewhat acquainted with the worlde, haue founde out an other sorte of menne, whom of all others, I would be lothe should reade any of my doinges: especially suche thynges as either touched Christe, or any good doctrine. And those are suche malitious folke, that loue to finde faults in other mennes matters, and seuen yeares together will kepe them in store, to the vtter vndoyng of their Christian brother: not mindyng to reade for their better learnyng, but seekyng to depraue whatsoeuer they finde, and watchyng their tyme, will take beste aduauntage to vndoe their neighbour. Suche men I saie of all others, would I be lothe to haue the sight, of any myne earneste doynges, If I could tell howe to forbid them, or howe to hynder them of their purpose.

Two yeares past at my beeyng in *Italie*, I was charged in Roome Toune, to my greate daunger and vtter vndoyng (if Goddes goodnesse had not been the greater) to haue written this booke of *Rhetorique*, and the *Logike* also, for the whiche I was compted an Heretike, notwithstandyng the absolution graunted to all the Realme, by Pope Julie the thirde, for all former offences or practises, deuised against the holie mother Church, as thei tall it. A straunge matter, that thinges doen in Englande seuen yeares before, and the same vniuersally forgiuen, should afterwardes bee laied to a mans charge in Rome. But what can not

malice

malice doe? Or what will not the wilfull deuile, to satisfie their myndes, for vndoyng of others? God bee my Iudge, I had then as little feare (although death was present, and the tormente at hande, whereof I felte some smarte) as euer I had in all my life before. For, when I sawe those that did seeke my death, to bee so malitiously sette, to make suche poore shiftes for my readier dispatche, and to burden me with those backe reckeninges: I tooke suche courage, and was so bolde, that the Iudges them did muche marualle at my stoutenesse, and thynkyng to kyng downe my greate harte, tolde me plainly, that I was in farther perill, then whereof I was aware, and sought thereupon to take aduauntage of my woordes, and to kyng me in daunger by all meanes possible. And after long debating with me, thei willed me at any hand to submit my self to the holie father, and the deuoute Colledge of Cardinalles. For, otherwise there was no remeadie. With that beyng fully purposed, not to yelde to any submission, as one that little trusted their colourable deceipte: I was as ware as I could be, not to vtter any thing for mine owne harme, for feare I should come in their daunger. For, thereither should I haue died, or els haue denied bothe openly and shamefully, the knowen truthe of Christ and his Gospell. In the ende by Gods grace, I was wonderfully deliuered, thoughe plaine force of the worthy Romaines (an enterprise heretofore in that sorte neuer attempted) beeyng then without hope of life, and muche lesse of libertie. And now that I am come home, this booke is shewed me and I desired to looke vpon it, to amende it where I thought meete. Amende it, quod I? Haue, let the booke first amende it self, and make me amendes. For, surely I haue no cause to acknowledge it for my booke, because I haue so smarted for it. For where I haue been euill handled, I haue muche a doo to shielde my selfe frendlie. If the soonne were the occasion of the fathers imprisonment, would not the father be offended with hym therefore? Or at the leaste, would he not take heede how he after he had to doe with hym? If others neuer gette more by bookes then I haue doen: it were better be a Carter, then a Scholer, for worldly profite. A burnte childe feareth the fire, and a beaten Dogge eschewth the whippe. Nowe therefore, I will none of this booke from henceforthe. I will none

of hym I saie take hym that liste, and we are hym that will. And by that tyme thei haue paied for hym so dearely as I haue doen, thei will be as wearie of him as I haue been. Who that toucheth pitche shalbe filed with it, and he that goeth in the Sunne shalbe Sunne burnt, although he thinke not of it. So thei that will read this or suche like bookes, shall in the ende bee as the bookes are. What goodnesse is in this treatise, I can not without vainglorie reporte, neither will I meddle with it, either hotte or cold. As it was, so it is, and so be it still hereafter for me: so that I heare no more of it, and that it be not yet once again caste in my dishe. But this I saie to others, as I am assured thei will laugh that will reade it: So if the worlde should tourne (as God forbid) thei were moste like to wepe, that in all pointes would followe it. I would be lothe that any man should hurte hymself for my doynges. And therefore to auoide the worste for all partes, the beste were neuer once to loke on it: for then I am assured no mã shal take harme by it. But I thinke some shall read it, before whom I doe washe my handes, if any harme should come to them hereafter, and let them not saie but that thei are warned. I neuer heard a man yet troubled for ignorance in Religion. And yet me thinkes it is as great an heresie not to know God, as to erre in the knowledge of God. But some perhaps maie saie vnto me: Sir you are muche to bee blamed that are so fearfull, and done caste suche perilles before hande, to discourage mennde from well doying. I answere: My mynde is not to discourage any maune, but onely to shewe how I haue been tried for this bookes sake, *tanquam per ignem*. For in deede the prison was on fire when I came out of it, and where as I feared fire moste (as who is he that dooeth not feare it?) I was deliuered by fire and sword together. And yet now thus fearfull am I, that hauyng been thus stronged, and restrained of libertie: I would fayne rather hassarde my life presently hereafter to dye vpon a Turke: then to abide againe without hope of libertie, suche painfull imprisonment for euer. So that I haue now gotte courage with suffering damage, and made my self as you see, verie willyng from henceforthe to dye: beyng then brought onely but in feare of death. Thei that loue sorrowe vpon sorrowe: God sende it them. I for my parte had rather be without sense of greef,

then

then for euer to line in greef. And I thinke the troubles before death beyng long suffered, and without hope continued are worse a greate deale, then present death it self can be: Especially to hym that maketh little accompte of this life, and is well armed with a constante mynde to God warde. Thus I haue talked of my self more then I needed, some will saie, and yet not more (maie I well saie) then I haue needed in deede. For I was without all helpe, and without all hope, not onely of libertie, but also of life, and therefore what thyng needed I not? Or with what woordes sufficiently could I sette forthe my neede? God bee praised, and thankes bee giuen to hym onely, that not onely deliuered me out Lions mouthe, but also hath brought Englande my deare Countrey, out of greate thraldome and forraine bondage.

And God saue the Queenes Maiestie, the Realme, and the scattered flocke of Christe, and graunt, O mercifull God, an vniuersall quietnesse of mynde, perfite greement in doctrine, and amendement of our liues, that we maie be all one Shepefolde, and haue one Pastour Iesus, to whom with the Father and the holie Ghost be honor and glorie woorlde without ende. *Amen*. This vij. of December. 1560.

ELOQVENCE FIRST giuen by God, and after loste *by manne, and laste repaired by GOD againe.*

MAn (in whom is poured the breathe of life) was made at the firste beeyng an euerliuyng Creature, vnto the likenesse of God, endued with reason, and appoincted Lorde ouer all other thynges liuyng. But after the fall of our first Father, synne so crept in that our knowledge was muche darkened, and by corruption of this our fleshe, mannes reason and entendement were bothe ouerwhelmed. At what tyme God beyng sore greeued with the folie of one man, pitied of his mere goodnesse the whole state and posteritie of mankinde. And therefore (whereas through the wicked Suggestion of oure ghostly enemie, the ioyfull fruition of gods glorie was altogether loste:) it pleased our heauenlie Father to repaire mankinde of his free mercie, and to graunte an euerliuyng enheritaunce, vnto all suche as would by constaunte faithe seeke earnestly hereafter. Long it was ere that manne knewe hymself, beeyng destitute of Gods grace, so that all thynges wared sauage, the yearth vntilled, societie neglected, Gods will not knowne, man against man, one against an other, and all against order. Some liued by spoile, some like [illegible] grased vpō the ground, some went naked, some roomed like Woodmen, none did any thyng by reason, but moste did [illegible] by manhode. None almoste considered the euerliuyng God, but all liued moste commonly after their owne luste. By death thei thought that all thynges ended, by life thei looked for none other liuyng. None remembred the true obseruation of Wedlocke, none tendered the education of their children Lawes were not regarded, true dealyng was not once vsed. For vertue, vice bare place, for right and equitie, might vsed authoritie. And therefore, whereas man through reason might haue

vsed

vsed order: man through folie fell into errour. And thus for lacke of skill, and for wāt of grace euill so preuailed, that the deuill was moste esteemed, and God either almoste vnknowne emong them all, or els nothyng feared emong so many. Therefore, euen now when man was thus paste all hope of amendement, God still tenderyng his owne workmanshipp, stirryng vp his faithfull and electe, to perswade with reason all menne to societie. And gaue his appointed ministers knowledge bothe to see the natures of men, and also graunted them the gifte of vtteraunce, that thei might with ease win folke at their will, and frame them by reason to all good order. And therefore, whereas men liued brutishly in open feeldes, haupng neither house to shroude theim in, nor attire to clothe their backes, nor yet any regard to seeke their beste auaile: these appointed of God called theim together by vtteraunce of speeche, and perswaded with thē what was good, what was bad, and was gainfull for mankinde. And although at firste the rude could hardly learne, and either for the straungenesse of the thyng, would not gladly receiue the offer, or els for lacke of knowledge, could not perceiue the goodnesse: yet beeyng somewhat drawne, and delited with the pleasantnesse of reason, and the swetenesse of vtteraunce: after a certaine space thei became through Nurture and good aduisement, of wilde, sober: of cruell, gentill: of fooles, wise: and of beastes, men: suche force hath the tongue, and suche is the power of eloquence and reason, that moste men are forced, euen to yeelde in that whiche moste standeth againste their will. And therefore the Poetes doe feine, that *Hercules* beeyng a man of greate wisedome, had all men lincked together by the eares in a chaine, to drawe them and leade them euen as he lusted. For his witte was so greate, his tongue so eloquente, and his experience suche, that no one manne was able to withstande his reason, but euery one was rather driuen to doe that whiche he would, and to will that whiche he did: agreeyng to his aduise bothe in worde and worke in all that euer thei were able. Neither can I see that men could haue been brought by any other meanes, to liue together in fellowship of life to maintaine cities, to deale truly, and willyngly obeye one an other, if menne at the first had not by arte and eloquence, perswaded that whiche thei full ofte found out by reason.

For

For what man I praie you, beyng better able to maintaine hym selfe by valiaunt courage, then by liuyng in base subiection, would not rather looke to rule like a lorde, then to liue like an vnderlyng: if by reason he were not perswaded, that it behoueth euery man to liue in his owne vocation: and not to seeke any higher roume, then whereunto he was at the first appointed? Who would digge and delue from Morne till Euenyng? Who would trauaile and toile with the sweate of his browes? Yea, who would for his kinges pleasure aduenture and hassard his life, if wit had not so won men, that thei thought nothyng more needfull in this worlde, nor any thing whereunto thei were more bounden: then here to liue in their duetie, and to traine their whole life accordyng to their callyng. Therefore, whereas men are in many thynges weake by Nature, and subiecte to muche infirmitie: I thinke in this one pointe thei passe all other creatures liuyng, that haue the gifte of speeche and reason. And emong all other, I thinke hym moste worthie fame, and emongest all men to be taken for halfe a God: that therein doeth cheefly and aboue all other excell men, where in men doe excell beastes. For he that is emong the reasonable, of al moste reasonable, and emong the wittie, of all moste wittie, and emong the eloquent, of all moste eloquent: hym thinke I emong all men, not onely to be taken for a singuler man, but rather to be coumpted for halfe a God. For, in sekyng the excellencie hereof, the soner he draweth to perfection, the nier he cometh to GOD, who is the chief wisedome, and therefore called God, because he is moste wise, or rather wisedome it selfe.

Now then, seyng that God giueth his heauenly grace, vnto al suche as call vnto hym with stretched handes, and humble harte, neuer wantyng to those, that want not to themselues: I purpose by his grace and especiall assistence, to set forth suche preceptes of eloquence, and to shewe what obseruation the wise haue vsed, in handelyng of their matters: that the vnlearned by seyng the practise of others, maie haue some knowledge themselues, and learne by their neighbours deuise, what is necessary for themselues in their owne case.

ℊ Gaulterus Haddonus D. Iuris Ciuilis, Et Reginæ Maiestatis, à Libellis supplicibus.

Retoricen Logice soror, est affata sororem:
Quem didicit nuper, sermo Britannos erat.
Retorice tacuit, magno perculsa dolore:
Nam nondum nostro nouerat ore loqui.
Audijt hæc, Logices, Wilsonus forte, magister:
Qui fuerat, nostros addiderat q; sonos.
Retoricen mutam, verbis solatus amicis:
Seuocat, & rogitat num esse Britanna velit?
Deijciens oculos respondit velle libenter:
Sed se, qua possit, non reperire, via.
Ipse vias (inquit) tradam, legesq; loquendi:
Quomodo perfectè verba Britanna loces.
Liberat ille fidem, nostro sermone politur:
Retorice, nostra est vtraque facta soror.
Anglia nobilium si charus sermo sororum,
Est tibi, sermonis charus & author erit.

ℊ Thomas VVilsonus in Anglicam Rhetoricen suam.

ANglia si doceat, quod: Græcia docta: quid ob-
Quo minus ex Anglis Anglia, vera sciat. (stat
Non (quia Greca potes, vel calles verba Latina)
Doctus es, aut sapiens: sed quia vera vides.
Aurea secreto tegitur sapientia sensu.
Abdita sensa tenes Anglus? es ergo sciens.
Sed me Rhetoricen nequeat cùm lingua polire:
Cui vacat, hoc vnum quod valet, oro velit.

¶ What is Rhetorique.

Rhetorique is an arte to set forthe by vtteraunce of woordes, matter at large, or (as *Cicero* doeth saie, it is learned, or rather an artificiall declaration of the minde, in the handelyng of any cause, called in contention, that maie through reason largely be discussed.

¶ The matter whereupon an Orator must standc.

AN Orator must bee able to speake fullie of all those questions, whiche by lawe and mannes ordinance are enacted, and appointed for the vse and profite of man, suche as are thought apt for the tongue to set forward. Now *Astronomie* is rather learned by demonstration, then taught by any greate vtterance. *Arithmetique* smally needeth the vse of Eloquence, seyng it maie be had wholie by nombryng onely. *Geometrie* rather asketh a good square, then a cleane flowing tong to set out the art. Therefore an Orators profession, is to speake onely of all sutche matters, as maie largely bee expounded for mannes behoue, and maie with muche grace be set out, for all men to heare them.

Rhetorique occupied aboute all lawes, concernyng man.

¶ Of questions.

EVery question or demaunde in thynges, is of twoo sortes. Either it is an infinite question, and without ende, or els it is definite, and comprehended within some ende.

Questions of two sortes

Those questions are called infinite, whiche generally are propounded, without the comprehension of tyme, place, and persone, or any suche like: that is to saie, when no certain thyng is named, but onely woordes are generally spoken. As thus, whether it bee beste to marrie, or to liue single. Whiche is better, a Courtiers life, or a Scholers life.

Questions infinite.

Those questions are called definite, which set forthe a matter, with the appointmente and nampng of place, tyme, and persone. As thus. Whether now it be beste here in Englande, for a Priest to Marrie, or to liue single. Whether it were meete for the Kynges Maiestie that now is, to marrie with a stranger, or to marrie with one of his owne Subiectes. Now the definite question (as

Questions definite.

Questions definite, belong properly to an Oratour.

the whiche concerneth some one persone) is moste agreyng to the purpose of an Oratour, cõsideryng particuler matters in the lawe, are euer debated betwixte certaine persones, the one affirmyng for his parte, and the other denyng as fatte againe for his parte.

Questions infinite, proper vnto Logicians.

Thynges generally spoken without all circumstaunces, are more proper vnto the *Logician*, who talketh of thynges vniuerfally, without respect of persone, tyme, or place. And yet notwithstandyng, *Tullie* doeth saie, that who soeuer will talke of particuler matter muste remember, that within the same also is comprehended a generall. As for example. If I shall aske this question, whether it bee lawfull for Willyam Conquerour to inuade Englande, and win it by force of armour, I must also consider this, whether it bee lawfull for any man to vsurpe power, or it bee not lawfull. That if the greater can not be borne withall, the lesse can not bee neither. And in this respecte, a generall question agreeth well to an Oratours profession, and ought well to bee knowne for the better furtheraunce of his matter, notwithstandyng the particuler question is euer called in cõtrouersie, and the generall onely herevpon considered, to comprehende and compasse the same, as the whiche is more generall.

¶ *The ende of Rhetorique.*

Three thynges are required of an Oratour.

Oratours bounde to performe iij. thynges.

To teache.
To delight.
And to perswade.

FIrst therefore, an Oratour must labour to tell his tale, that the hearers maie well know what he meaneth, & vnderstande hym wholie, the whiche he shall with ease doe, if he vtter his mynde in plaine woordes, suche as are vsuallie receiued, and tell it orderly, without goyng about the bushe. That if he dooe not this, he shall neuer dooe the other. For what man can be delited, or yet be perswaded with the onely hearyng of those thynges, whiche he knoweth not what thei meane. The tongue is ordeined to expresse the mynde, that one maie vnderstande an others meanyng: now what auaileth to speake, whẽ none can tell what the speaker meaneth? Therefore *Phauorinus* the

Plaine woordes proper vnto an Oratour.

the Philosopher (as *Gellius* telleth the tale) did hit a yong man ouer the Thumbes verie handsomely, for vsyng ouer old, and ouer straunge woordes. Sirha (quoth he) when our old greate aunceſters and Graundſires were aliue, thei ſpake plainly in their mothers tongue, and vſed old language, ſuche as was ſpoken then at the buildyng of Roome. But you talke me ſuche a Latine, as though you ſpake with them euen now, that were twoo or three thouſande yeres agoe, and onely becauſe you would haue no manne to vnderſtand what you ſaie. Now were it not better for thee a thouſande fold, (thou fooliſhe fellowe) in ſeekyng to haue thy deſire, to hold thy peace, and ſpeake nothyng at all? For then by that meanes, fewe ſhould knowe what wer thy meanyng. But thou ſaiſt, the olde antiquitie doeth like thee beſte, becauſe it is good, ſober, and modeſt. Ah, liue manne as thei did before ther, and ſpeake thy mynde now as men doe at this daie. And remember that whiche *Cæſar* ſaieth, beware as long as thou lineſt of ſtraunge woordes, as thou wouldeſt take heede and eſchue greate rockes in the ſea.

A Philoſopheres witte ſatyng to a yong manne that ſought to ſpeake darke language.

The nexte part that he hath to plaie, is to chere his greaſtes, and to make them take pleaſure, with hearyng of thinges wittely deuiſed, and pleaſauntly ſet forthe. Therefore euery Orator ſhould earneſtly labour to file his tongue, that his woordes maie ſlide with eaſe, and that in his deliuerraunce he maie haue ſuche grace, as the ſound of a Lute, or any ſuche inſtrument doeth giue. Then his ſentences muſt be well framed, and his woordes aptlie vſed, through the whole diſcourſe of his Oration.

Orators muſte vſe delitefull woordes and ſaiges.

Thirdlie, ſuche quickneſſe of witte muſt be ſhewed, and ſuche pleaſaunt ſawes ſo well applied, that the eares maie finde muche delite, whereof I will ſpeake largelie, when I ſhall intreate of mouyng laughter. And aſſuredly nothyng is more nedefull, then to quicke theſe heauie loden wittes of ours, and muche to cheriſh theſe our lompiſhe and vnweldie Natures, for exrepte men finde delite, thei will not longe abide: delite theim, and winne theim, wearie theim, and you loſe theim for euer. And that is the reaſon, that men commonlie tarye the ende of a merie plaie, and can not abide the halfe hearyng of a ſower checkyng Sermon. Therefore euen theſe auncient Preachers, muſt now and then plaie the fooles in the pulpit, to ſerue the tickle eares of their fletyng audience

Preachers not ſo diligently heard as common Plaiers.

Preachers must sometymes be merie when thei speake to the people.

or els thei are like sometymes to preache to the bare walles, for though their spirite be apt, and our will prone, yet our flesshe is so heauie, and humours so ouerwhelme vs, that we can not without refreshyng, long abide to heare any one thyng. Thus we see, that to delite is needfull, without the whiche, weightie matters will not be heard at all, and therefore, hym cunne I thanke, that bothe can and will, once mingle sweete emong the sower, bee he Preacher, Lawier, yea, or Cooke either hardely, when he dresseth a good dishe of meate: now I neede not to tell that scurrilitie, or alehouse iestyng, would bee thought odious, or grosse mirthe would be deemed madnesse: considering that euen the meane witted doe knowe that all readie, and as for other that haue no witte, thei wil neuer learne it, therefore God speede thē. Now when these twoo are doen, he muste perswade, and moue the affections of his hearers in suche wise, that thei shall bee forced to yeeld vnto his saiyng, whereof (because the matter is large, and maie more aptly be declared, when I shal speake of Amplification) I will surcease to speake any thyng thereof at this tyme.

Delityng needfull.

Scurrilitie odious.

Affections must be moued.

¶ *By what meanes Eloquence is attained.*

First nedefull it is that he, which desireth to excell in this gift of Oratorie, and longeth to proue an eloquent man, must naturally haue a witte, and an aptnesse therevnto: then must he to his booke, and learne to be wel stored with knowledge, that he maie be able to minister matter for all causes necessary. The whiche whē he hath got plentifully, he must vse muche exercise, bothe in writyng, and also in speakyng. For though he haue a wit and learnyng together, yet shall thei bothe little auaile without muche practise. What maketh the Lawier to haue suche vtteraunce? Practise. What maketh the Preacher to speake so roundly? Practise. Yea, what maketh women goe so faste awaie with their wordes? Marie practise I warrant you. Therefore in all faculties, diligent practise, and earnest exercise, are the onely thinges that make men proue excellēt. Many men knowe the act very well, and be in all pointes throughly grounded and acquainted with the preceptes, and yet it is not their hap to proue eloquēt And the reason is, that eloquence it self, came not vp firste by the arte,

Practise maketh all thinges perfecte.

arte, but the arte rather was gathered vpon eloquence. For wisemen seeyng by muche obseruation and diligent practise, the compasse of diuers causes, compiled thereupon preceptes and lessons, worthie to bee knowen and learned of all men. Therefore before arte was inuented, eloquẽce was vsed, and through practise made perfecte, the whiche in all thynges is a soueraigne meane, moste highly to excell.

Rhetorique first made by wisemẽ, and not wisemen first made by Rhetorique.

Now, before we vse either to write, or speake eloquently, we must dedicate our myndes wholy, to followe the moste wise and learned men, and seeke to fashion as well their speache and gesturyng, as their witte or enditying. The whiche when we earnestly mynde to doe, we can not but in tyme appere somwhat like them. For if thei that walke muche in the Sonne, and thinke not of it, are yet for the moste part Sonne burnt, it can not be but that thei whiche wittyngly and willyngly trauaile to counterfete other, must needes take some colour of them, and bee like vnto them in some one thyng or other, accordyng to the Prouerbe, by companying with the wise, a man shall learne wisedome.

Imitation or folowyng the waies of wisemen, is needefull.

¶ To what purpose this arte is set forthe.

TO this purpose and for this vse, is the art compiled together, by the learned and wisemen, that those whiche are ignorant might iudge of the learned, and labour (when tyme should require) to followe their woorkes accordyngly. Againe, the arte helpeth well to dispose and order matters of our owne inuention, the whiche wee maie followe as well in speakyng as in writyng, for though many by nature without art, haue proued worthy men, yet is art a surer guide then nature, consideryng we see as liuely by arte what we doe, as though wee red a thyng in writyng, where as Natures doynges are not so open to all men. Againe, those that haue good wittes by Nature, shall better encrease them by arte, and the blunt alse shall be whetted through arte, that want Nature to helpe them forward.

Rhetorique to what purpose it seruethe.

Arte a surer guide then Nature.

¶ Fiue thynges to bee considered in an Orator.

ANy one that will largely handle any matter, must fasten his mynde firste of all, vpon these fiue especiall pointes that followe, and learne them euery one.

Oratours must haue v. thynges to make them perfite.

i. Inuention of matter.
ii. Disposition of thesame.
iii. Elocution.
iiij. Memorie.
v. Utterance.

Inuention, what it is.

The findyng out of apt matter, called otherwise Inuention, is a searchyng out of thynges true, or thynges likely, the whiche maie reasonable set forthe a matter, and make it appere probable. The places of *Logique*, giue good occasion to finde out plentifull matter. And therefore, thei that will proue any cause, and seke onely to teache thereby the truthe, must searche out the places of *Logique*, and no doubt thei shall finde muche plentie. But what auaileth muche treasure and apt matter, if man can not applie it to his purpose. Therefore, in the second place is mentioned, the setlyng or orderyng of thynges

Disposition, what it is.

inuented for this purpose, called in Latine *Dispositio*, the whiche is nothing els but an apt bestowyng, and orderly placyng of thinges, declaryng where euery argument shalbe sette, and in what maner euery reason shalbe applied for cõfirmation of the purpose.

But yet what helpeth it though wee can finde good reasons, and knowe how to place them, if we haue not apte woordes and

Elocution, what it is.

picked Sentences, to commende the whole matter. Therefore, this pointe must needes followe to beautifie the cause, the whiche beyng called Elocution, is an applyng of apte woordes and sentences to the matter, founde out to confirme the cause. When all these are had together it auaileth little, if man haue no Memorie

Memorie what it is.

to containe them. The Memorie therefore must be cherished, the whiche is a faste holdyng bothe of matter and woordes couched together, to confirme any cause.

Be it nowe that one haue al these fower, yet if he want the fift all the other doe little profite. For though a manne can finde out good matter and good woordes, though he can handsomely sette them together, and cary them verie well awaie in his mynde, yet it is to no purpose if he haue no vtterance, when he should speake

Pronunciation, what it is.

his mynde, and shewe men what he hath to saie. Utterance therefore, is a frameyng of the voyce, countenaunce, and gesture after a comely maner.

Thus

Thus wee ſee, that euery one of theſe muſt goe together, to make a perfite Oratour, and that the lacke of one, is a hinderance of the whole, and that aſwell all maie bee wantyng as one, if wee looke to haue an abſolute Oratour.

There are ſeuen partes in euery Oration.

Orations in generall conſiſt vpon ſeuen partes.

i. The Enterance or beginnyng.
ii. The Narration.
iii. The Propoſition.
iiii. The Deuiſion or ſeuerall partyng of thinges.
v. The Confirmation.
vi. The Confutation.
vii. The Concluſion.

Enterance what it is.

THe Entraunce or beginnyng is the former parte of the Oration, whereby the will of the ſtanders by, or of the Judge is ſought for, and required to heare the matter.

Narration.

The Narration is a plain and manifeſt pointyng of the matter, and an euident ſettyng forthe of all thynges that belong vnto the ſame, with a breefe rehearſall grounded vpon ſome reaſon.

Propoſition

The Propoſition is a pithie ſentence comprehended in a ſmal roume, the ſomme of the whole matter.

Deuiſion.

The Deuiſion is an openyng of thynges, wherein wee agree and reſte vpon, and wherein we ſticke and ſtande in trauers, ſhewyng what we haue to ſaie in our owne behalfe.

Confirmatiõ

The Confirmatiõ is a declaratiõ of our owne reaſons, with aſſured and conſtant proofes.

Confutation

The Confutatiõ is a diſſolueyng, or wippyng awaie of all ſuche reaſons as make againſt vs.

Concluſion.

The Concluſion is a clarkely gatheryng of the matter ſpoke̅ before, and a lappyng vp of it altogether.

Now, becauſe in euery one of theſe greate heedes ought to be had, and muche art muſt be vſed, to content and ſhewe all parties: I purpoſe in the ſeconde booke to ſette forthe at large euery one of theſe, that bothe we maie knowe in all partes what to followe, and what to eſchue. And firſt, when time ſhalbe to talke of any matter I would aduiſe euery man to conſider the nature of the cauſe firſt, that the rather he might frame his whole Oration thereafter.

Euery matter is conteined in one of these fower.

Matters in generall stande in fower pointes.

LEther it is an honest thyng whereof we speake, or els it is filthy and vile, or els betwixte bothe: and doubtfull what it is to bee called, or els it is some trifelyng matter, that is of small weight.

Matters 1 honeste.

That is called an honest matter, when either wee take in hande suche a cause that all men would maintaine, or els gainsaie suche a cause, that no man can well like.

Matters 2 filthie.

Then doe wee holde and defende a filthy matter, when either wee speake against our owne conscience in an euill matter, or els withstande an vpright truthe.

Matters 3 doubtfull.

The cause then is doubtfull, when the matter is halfe honest, and halfe vnhonest.

Matters 4 trifelyng.

Suche are trifelyng causes when there is no weight in them, as if one should phantasie to praise a Gose before any other beaste liuyng, (as I knowe who did) or of fruite to commende Nuttes cheefly, as *Ouid* did, or the Feuer quartaine as *Phauorinus* did, or the Gnat as *Virgill* did, or the battaill of Frogges as *Homer* did, or dispraise beardes, or commende shauen heddes.

Good heede to be taken at the first, vpon the handlyng of any matter in Iudgement.

Circumstances necessarie in all causes to bee notey.

NOt onely it is necessary to knowe what maner of cause we haue taken in hande, when we first enter vpon any matter, but also it is wisedom to consider the time, the place, the man for whō we speake, the man against whom we speake, the matter whereof we speake, and the iudges before whō we speake, the reasons that beste serue to further our cause, and those reasons also that maye seme somwhat to hinder our cause, and in no wise to vse any suche at all, or els warily to mitigate by protestation the euill that is in them, and alwaies to vse whatsoeuer can be saied, to win the cheef hearers good willes, and to perswade them to our purpose. If the cause goe by fauoure, and that reason cannot so muche auaile, as good will shalbee able to doe: or els if mouyng affections can doe more good, than bringyng in of good reasons, it is meete alwaies to vse that waie, whereby wee maie by good helpe gette the ouer

Fauor winnyng, and affections mouyng whē thei are moste necessarie.

hande

hande. That if myne aduersaries reasons, by me beyng confuted, serue better to helpe forward my cause, then myne owne reasons confirmed, can bee able to doe good: I should wholy bestowe my tyme, and trauaile to weaken and make slender, all that euer he bryngeth with hym. But if I cã with more ease proue myne owne saynges, either with witnesses, or with woordes, then bee able to confute his with reason, I muste labour to withdrawe mennes mindes from myne aduersaries foundation, and require thē wholy to herken vnto that whiche I haue to saie, beyng of it self so iuste and so reasonable, that none cã rightly speake against it, and shew them that greate pitie it were, for lacke of the onely hearyng, that a true matter should wãt true dealing. Ouer and besides al these, there remaine two lessons, the whiche wisemen haue alwaies obserued, and therefore ought of all menne assuredly to bee learned. The one is, that if any matter be laied against vs, whiche by reason can hardly be auoided, or the whiche is so open, that none almoste can deny: it were wisedome in confutyng all the other reasons, to passe ouer this one, as though we saw it not, and therfore speake neuer a woorde of it. Or els if necessitie shall force a man to saie somwhat, he maie make an outward braggе, as though there were no matter in it, euer so speakyng of it, as though he would standе to the triall, makyng men to beleue he would fight in the cause, when better it were (if necessitie so required) to run cleane awaie. And therein though a man do flie and giue place, euermore the gladder the lesse cauyng there is, or sterying in this matter: yet he flieth willely and for this ende, that beyng fensed otherwise, and strongly appointed, he maie take his aduersarie at the beste aduauntage, or at the leaste wearie hym with muche lingeryng, and make hym with oft suche fliyng, to forsake his cheef defence.

Aduersaries reasons whē ther should beste be confuted.

Argumentes when thei should cheefly bee vsed.

Matters harde to auoide should alwaies bee past ouer, as though we sawe them not at all.

Good to bee bold in moste daunger, if otherwise we cãnot escape.

The other lesson is, that wheras we purpose alwaies to haue the victorie, we should so speake that wee maie labour, rather not to hinder or hurt our cause, then to seke meanes to further it. And yet I speake not this, but that bothe these are right necessarie, and euery one that will doe good, muste take paines in them bothe, but yet notwithstandyng, it is a fouler fault a greate deale for an Orator, to be found hurtyng his owne cause, then it should turne to his rebuke, if he had not furthered his whole entẽt. Therefore not

Better not to hurte a good matter by ill speeche then to further it by good talke.

Warenesse in speakyng, and forbearyng to speake.

The persone before whom wee speake, must be well marked.

Tyme muste be obserued.

onely is it wisedome, to speake so muche as is needefull, but also it is good reason to leaue vnspoken so muche as is needelesse, the whiche although the wisest can doo and neede no teachyng, yet these common wittes offende now and then in this behalf. Some man beyng stirred, shall hurt more our cause then twentie other. Tauntyng wordes before some menne, will not bee borne at all. Sharpe rebukyng of our aduersarie, or frũpes giuen before some persones, can not be suffered at all. Yea, sometymes a man must not speake all that he knoweth, for if he do, he is like to finde small fauour, although he haue iust cause to speake, and maie with reason declare his mynde at large. And albeit that witlesse folke, can soner rebuke that whiche is fondly spoken, then redily praise that whiche is wisely kept close, yet the necessitie of the matter muste rather bee marked, then the fonde iudgemente of the people esteemed. What a foxe saiyng were this? When a Lawier should take in hande a matter concernyng life and death: and an other should aske how he hath sped, to heare tell that the lawier hath not onely cast awaie his client, but vndone hymself also, in speaking thinges inconsiderately, as no doubt it often happeneth that wisemen, and those also that be none euill menne neither, maie vnwares speake thynges, whiche afterward thei sore repent, and would call backe againe with losse of a greate somme. Now what a follie it is, not to remember the tyme, and the menne. Or who will speake that, whiche he knoweth will not be liked, if he purpose to finde fauour at their handes, before whom he speaketh, what man of reason, will praise that before the Iudges (before whom he knoweth the determination of his cause resteth) whiche the Iudges self cannot abide to heare spoken at all? Or dooeth not so muche hinder his owne matter, that without all curtesie or preface made, will largely speake euill of those men, whom the hearers of his cause tenderly doe fauour? Or be it that there be some notable fault in thine aduersarie, with whiche the Iudges also are infected, were it not follie for thee to charge thyne aduersarie with the same. Considerying the Iudges thereby maie thinke, thou speakest against thē also, and so thou maiest perhaps lose their fauour in, seekyng suche defence made without all discretion. And in frampng reasons to confirme the purpose, if any be spoken plainly false, or els contra-

rie

rie to that whiche was spoken before, doeth it not muche hinder a good matter? Therefore in all causes this good heede ought to be had, that alwaies we labour to do some good in furtheryng of our cause, or if we cannot so doe, at the least that we do no harme at al.

¶ *There are three kindes of causes or Orations, whiche serue for euery matter.*

NOthyng can be handled by this art, but the same is conteined within one of these three causes. Either the matter consisteth in praise, or dispraise of a thing, or els in consultyng whether the cause bee profitable, or vnprofitable: or lastly, whether the matter be right or wrong. And yet this one thyng is to be learned, that in euery one of these three causes, these three seuerall endes, may euery one of them be conteined in any one of them. And therefore, he that shall haue cause to praise any one bodie, shall haue iuste cause to speake of Justice, to entreate of profite, and ioyntly to talke of one thing with an other. But because these three causes, are commonly and for the moste parte seuerally parted, I will speake of them one after an other, as thei are set forthe by wise mennes iudgementes, and particularly declare their properties all in order. Orations or causes of iij. kindes.

The oration demōstratiue stādeth either in praise, or dispraise of some one man, or of some one thing, or of some one deede doen. Oration demonstratiue.

¶ *The kinde Demonstratiue, wherein cheefly it standeth.*

THere are diuers thynges whiche are praised and dispraised, as men, countries, cities, places, beastes, hilles, riuers, houses, castelles, deedes doen by worthy men, and pollicies inuented by greate warriers, but moste commonly men are praised for diuers respectes, before any of the other thynges are taken in hande.

Now in praisyng a noble personage, and in settyng forthe at large his worthinesse: *Quintilian* giueth warnyng, to vse this threefolde order. Noble persones, howthei should be praised.

To obserue thinges.
- Before his life.
- In his life.
- After his death.

Before

Before a mannes life, are considered these places.

- The Realme.
- The Shire.
- The Toune.
- The Parentes.
- The Auncestors.

IN a mannes life, praise must bee parted threfolde: That is to saie, into the giftes of good thynges of the minde, the body, and of fortune. Now the giftes of the body and of fortune, are not praise worthy of their owne nature: but euen as thei are vsed, either to or fro, so thei are either praised, or dispraised. Giftes of the mind deserue the whole trompes sound commendation aboue all other, wherein we maie vse the reherſall of vertues, as thei are in order, and begynnyng at his infancie, tell al his doynges till his last age.

¶ *The places whereof are these.*

- The birthe, and infancie. — Whether the persone bee a man, or a woman.
- The childhood. — The bryngyng vp, the nurturyng, and the behauour of his life.
- The stripling age, or syrynge tide. — To what studie he taketh hymself vnto, what cõpany he vseth, how he liueth.
- The mannes state. — Howesse doen, either abrode, or at home.
- The old age. — His pollicies and wittie deuises, in behoulfe of the publique weale.
- The time of his departure, or death. — Thynges that haue happened about his death.

(Where vnto are referred these.)

NOw to open all these places more largely, as well those that are before a mannes life, as suche as are in his life, and after his death, that the Reader maie further see the

the profite, I will doe the beste I can.

The house whereof a noble personage came, declares the state and natures of his auncestors, his alliance, and his kinsfolke. So that suche worthy feates as thei haue heretofore doen, & al such honors as thei haue had for suche their good seruice, redoūdes wholy to the encrease and amplifying of his honor, that is now liuing. The house or auncestrie whereof a noble personage cometh.

The Realme declares the nature of the people. So that some countrey bringeth more honor with it, then an other doeth. To be a Frenche man, descendyng there of a noble house, is more honor then to be an Irishe man: to be an Englishe man borne, is muche more honor, then to be a Scotte, because that by these men, worthie prowesses haue been dooen, and greater affaires by them: attempted, then haue been doen by any other. ij. The Realme.

The Shire or Toune helpeth somewhat, towardes the encrease of honor: As it is muche better to bee borne in Paris, then in Picardie, in London then in Lincolne. For that bothe the ayre is better, the people more ciuill, and the wealthe muche greater, and the men for the moste parte more wise. iij. The shire or Toune.

To bee borne a manchilde, declares a courage, grauitie, and constancie. To be borne a woman, declares weakenesse of spirit, nesheneſſe of bodie, and fickelnesse of mynde. iij. The sexe or kinde.

Now for the bringing vp of a noble personage, his nurse must bee considered, his plaie fellowes obserued, his teacher and other his seruauntes called in remembraunces. How euery one of these liued then, with whom thei haue liued afterwardes, and how thei liue now. v. Educatiō.

By knowyng what he taketh hym self vnto, and wherein he moste deliteth, I maie commende hym for his learnyng, for his skill in the Frenche, or in the Italian, for his knowledge in Cosmographie: for his skill in the lawes, in the hiſtories of all countries, and for his gifte of enditying. Againe, I maie commende hym for playing at weapons, for runnyng vppon a greate horse, for chargyng his staffe at the Tilt, for vautyng, for playing vpon Instrumentes, yea, and for paintyng, or drawyng of a plat, as in old tyme noble princes muche delited therein. vi. Inclinatiō of nature.

Prowesse dooen, declare his seruice to the kyng, and his countrey, either in withstandyng the outward enemie, or els in aswagyng vii. Attemptes worthie.

gyng the rage of his owne countreymen at home.

vii. His wise counsaile, and good aduise giuen, settes foorthe the goodnesse of his witte.

Tyme of hi departyng this woorde.

At the tyme of his departyng, his sufferaunce of all sicknesse, maie muche commende his worthinesse. As his strong harte, and cherefull pacience euen to the ende, cannot wante greate praise. The loue of all men towardes hym, and the lamentyng generally for his lacke, helpe well moste highly to set foorthe his honour.

After departure.

After a mannes death, are considered his tombe, his cote armour set vp, and all suche honours as are vsed in Funeralles. If any one liste to putte these preceptes in practise, he maie dooe as hym liketh beste. And surely I doe thinke, that nothyng so muche furthereth knowledge as daiely exercise, and enuryng our selues to dooe that in deede, whiche wee knowe in woorde. And because examples giue greate light, after these preceptes are set foorthe, I will commende twoo noble gentlemen, Henry duke of Suffolke and his brother Loorde Charles Duke with hym.

Duke of Suffolke, and Loorde Charles.

¶ An example of commendyng a noble personage.

BEtter or more wisely can none doe, then thei which neuer bestowe praise, but vpon those that beste deserue praise, rather myndyng discretely what thei ought to dooe, then vainly deuisyng what thei beste can doe, seekyng rather to praise men, suche as are found worthie, then curiously findyng meanes to praise matters, suche as neuer were in any. For thei which speake other wise then truthe is, minde not the commendation of the persone, but the settyng foorthe of their owne learnyng. As *Gorgias* in *Plato*, praisyng vnrighteousnesse. *Heliogabalus* Orations commendyng whoredome. *Phaphorinus* the Philosopher, extollyng the Feuer quartain, thought not to speake as the cause required, but would so muche saie as their witte would giue, not weighyng the state of the cause, but mindyng the vaunt of their braine, lookyng how muche could be saied, not passyng how little should be saied. But I bothe knowyng the might of Gods hande, for suche as loue fables, and the shame that in yearth redoundeth to euill reporters, will

Gorgias Heliogabalus. Phaorinus.

will not commende that in those, whiche neede no good praise, but will commende them that no man iustly can dispraise, nor yet any one is well able worthely to praise. Their towardnesse was suche, and their giftes so greate, that I knowe none whiche loue learnyng, but hath sorowed the lacke of their beyng. And I know that the onely namyng of them, will stirre honest hartes to speak well of them. I will speake of twoo brethren that lately departed, the one Henry Duke of Suffolke, and the other lorde Charles his brother, whom God thinkyng meeter for heauen, then to liue here vppon yearth, tooke from vs in his anger, for the betteryng of our doynges, and amendement of our euill liuyng. These twoo gentlemen were borne in noble Englande, bothe by father and mother of an high parentage. The father called duke Charles, by mariage beeyng brother to the worthie Kyng of famous memorie Henry the eight, was in suche fauour, and did suche seruice, that all Englande at this howre doeth finde his lacke, and Fraunce yet doeth feele that suche a Duke there was, whom in his life tyme, the godlie loued: the euill feared, the wise menne honoured for his wit, and the simple vsed alwaies for their counsaile. Their mother of birthe noble, and witte greate, of nature gentle and mercifull to the poore, and to the godlie, and especially to the learned an earnest good Patronesse, and moste helpyng Ladie aboue all other. In their youth their father died, the eldest of them beyng not paste nine yeres of age. After whose death, their Mother knowyng, that wealthe without witte, is like a swoorde in a naked mannes hande, and assuredly certaine, that knowledge would confirme iudgement, prouided so for their bryngyng vp in all vertue and learnyng, that twoo like were not to be had within this realme againe. When thei began bothe to ware somwhat in yeres, beyng in their primetide and spryng of their age, the elder waityng on the kynges maiestie that now is, was generally wel estemed, and suche hope was conceiued of his towardnesse, bothe for learnyng and all other thynges, that fewe were like vnto him in all the court. The other keepyng his booke emong the Cãbrige men profited (as thei well knowe) bothe in vertue and learnyng, to their greate admiration. For the Greeke, the Latine, and the Italiã, I know he could doe more, then would be thought true by

Henry Duke of Suffolke and Lorde Charles his brother.

my

my report. I leaue to speake of his skill in pleasant Instrumentes, neither will I vtter his aptnesse in Musicke, and his toward Nature, to all exercises of the bodie. But his elder brother in this tyme (besides his other giftes of the mynde, whiche passeth all other, and were almoste incredible) followyng his fathers nature, was so delited with ridyng, and runnyng in armour vppon horseback, and was so comely for that facte, and could doe so well in chargyng his staffe, beeyng but xiiij. yeres of age, that meune of warre, euen at this howre, mone muche the want of suche a worthie gentleman. Yea, the Frenche men that first wondered at his learnyng, when he was there emong them, and made a notable oracion in Latine: were muche more astonied when thei sawe his comely ridyng, and little thought to find these twoo ornamentes ioyned bothe in one, his peres especially beyng so tender, and his practise of so small tyme. Afterward commyng from the Court, as one that was desirous to be emong the learned, he laye in Cambrige together with his brother, where thei bothe so profited, and so gently vsed themselues, that al Cambrige did reuerence, bothe hym and his brother, as twoo ieewells sent from God. The elders nature was suche, that he thought hym self beste, when he was emong the wisest, and yet contemned none, but thankfully vsed al, gentle in behauor without childishnesse, stout of stomacke without all pride, bolde with all warenesse, and freendly with good aduisemēt. The yōger beyng not so ripe in peres, was not so graue in looke, rather cherefull, then sadde: rather quicke, then auncient: but yet if his brother wer set a side, not one that went beyond him. A child, that by his owne inclination, so muche yelded to his ruler, as fewe by chastment haue doen the like: pleasant of speche, pōpt of wit, stirryng by nature, haule without hate, kind without craft, liberall of harte, gentle in behauor, forward in all thynges, gredie of learnyng, and lothe to take a foile in any opon assembly. Thei bothe in all attemptes, sought to haue the victorie, and in exercise of wit, not onely the one with the other, did oft stande in contentiō, but also thei bothe would matche with the best, and thought them selues moste happie, when thei might haue any iuste occasion, to putte their wittes in triall. And now when this greene fruite began to waxe ripe, and all men longed to haue taste of suche their greate

greate forwardnesse: God preuenting mans expectation, tooke them bothe aboute one houre, and in so shorte tyme, that firste thei were knowen to be ded, or any abroade could tell thei were sicke. I neede not to rehearse, what both thei spake, before their departure (considerynge, I haue seuerally written, bothe in Latine and in Englishe, of the same matter) neither will I heape here so muche together, as I can, because I should rather renewe greate sorowe to many, then doe moste men any greate good, who loued them so well generally, that fewe for a greate space after, spake of these two gentlemē, but thei shewed teares, with the onely vtterance of their wordes, and some through ouer muche sorowynge, were fain to forbeare speaking. God graunt vs all to liue, that the good men of this worlde, maie be alwaies loth to forsake vs, and God maie still be glad to haue vs, as no doubte these iij. children so died, as all men should wishe to liue, and so thei liued bothe, as all should wishe to dye. Seeyng therefore, these two were suche, both for birthe, nature, and all other giftes of grace, that the like are hardely found behinde them: Let vs so speake of thē, that our good reporte maie warne vs, to followe their godlie natures, and that lastlie, wee maie enioye that inheritaunce, whereunto God hath prepared them and vs (that feare him) frō the beginnyng. Amen.

The partes of an Oration, made in praise of a man.
- The Enteraunce.
- The Narration.
- Sometymes the confutacion.
- The Conclusion.

IF any one shall haue iuste cause, to dispraise an euill man, he shall some doe it, if hee can praise a good man. For (as *Aristotle* doeth saie) of contraries, there is one and the same doctrine, and therefore, he that can doe the one, shall some be able to doe the other.

Of an Oration demonstratiue, for some deede dooen.

THE kinde demonstratiue of some thyng doen, is this, whē a man is commended, or dispraised, for any acte committed in his life. Oration demonstratiue of a deede.

¶ *The places to confirme this cause, why any one is commended, are sixe in number,*

The places of confirmacion.
- i. It is honest.
- ii. It is possible.
- iii. Easie to be doen.
- iiii. Harde to be doen.
- v. Possible to be doen.
- vi. Impossible to be doen.

Seuen circumstaunces, whiche are to be considered in diuerse matters.

The circumstaunces.
- i. Who did the deede.
- ii. What was doen.
- iii. Where it was doen.
- iiii. What helpe had he to it.
- v. Wherefore he did it.
- vi. How he did it.
- vii. At what tyme he did it.

¶ *The circumstaunces in Metre.*

Who, what, and where, by what helpe, and by whose:
Why, how, and when, doe many thinges disclose.

These places helpe wonderfully to sette out any matter, and to amplifie it to the vttermoste, not onely in prayssing, or dispraising, but also in all other causes, where any aduisement is to be vsed. Yet this one thing is to be learned, that it shall not be necessarie to vse them altogether, euen as they stand in order: but rather as time and place shall best require, they maie bee vsed in any parte of the Oration, euen as it shall please hym that hath the vsing of them. Againe, if any man bee disposed to rebuke any offence, he maie vse the places contrary vnto them, that are aboue rehersed, and applie these circumstaunces, euen as they are, to the proofe of his purpose.

An example of commendyng Kyng Dauid, for killyng greate Goliah gathered and made, by obseruacion of circumstaunces.

Dauid commanded for killyng Goliah.

GOd beyng the aucthour of mankinde, powryng into hym the breathe of life, and framyng hym of claie, in suche a comely wise as we all now see, hath from the begynnyng, been so carefull ouer his electe and chosen,

that

that in all daungers, he is euer readie to assist his people, kepyng them harmeleſſe, when thei were often past all mans hope. And emong all other his fatherly goodneſſe, it pleased hym to shewe his power, to his chosen seruaunt Dauid, that all might learne to knowe his might, and recken with them selues, that though man giue the stroke, yet God it is that giueth the ouerhand. For wheras Dauid was of small stature, weake of body, poore of birth, and base in the sight of the worldlinges, God called him first to match with an houge monster, a little bodie, against a mightie Giaunte, an abiecte Israelite, against a moste valiaunte Philistine, with whom no Israelite durst encounter. These Philistines minded, the murther and ouerthrow, of all the Israelites, trustyng in their owne strength so muche that thei feared no perill, but made an accoumpte, that all was theirs before hande. Now when both these armies were in sight, the Philistines vpon an hill of the one side, and the Israelites vpon an hill of the other side, a vale beyng betwirte them both, there marched out of the Campe, a base borne Philistine, called Goliah of Geth, a manne of sixe Cubites high. This soldiour, when through his bignesse and stature of his bodie, and also with greate braggs, and terrible threatenynges, he had wonderfully abashed the whole armie of the Israelites, so that no man durst aduenture vpon hym. God to the ende he might deliuer Israell, and shewe that mans helpe, with all his armour, little auaile to gette victorie, with out his especiall grace: and againe, to the ende he might set vp Dauid, and make hym honourable emong the Israelites, did then call out Dauid, the sonne of Ephrateus, of Bethleem Juda, whose name was Isaie, who beyng but a childe in yeres, did kill out of hand, by Gods might and power, Goliah the moste terrible enemie of all other, that bare hate against the children of Israell. When this mightie fellowe was slaine, aboute the vale of Terebinthus, betwixt both the armies, the Israelites reioysed, that before quaked, and wondered at him then, whom thei would scant knowe before, and no doubte this deede was not onely wonderfull, but also right godly. For in battaile to kill an enemie, is thought right worthie, or to aduenture vpon a Rebell (though the successe followe not) is generally commended: yea, to put one to the worse, or to make him flie the

Who: Dauid against Goliah.

What: Dauid killed Goliah.

Where: About the vale of Terebinthus.

ground, is called manly, but what shall we saie of Dauid, that not onely had the better hande, not onely bette his enemie, but killed streight his enemie, yea, and not an enemie of the common stature of men, but a mightie Giaunt, not a man, but a monster, yea, a deuill in harte, and a beaste in body: Can any be compted more honeste then suche as seeke to saue their countrey, by hassardyng their carcasses, and shedyng of their blood: Can loue shewe it self greater, then by yeldyng of life, for the health of an armie: It has been much, if halfe a dosen had dispatched such a terrible Giaunt, but nowe, when Dauid without helpe, beyng not yet a man but a boye in yeres, slewe hym hande to hande, what iuste praise doeth he deserue: If wee praise other, that haue slaine euill menne, and compte them haulte, that haue killed their matches, what shall we saie of Dauid, that beyng wonderfully ouermatched, made his partie good, and got the Sole of a Monster. Let other praise *Hercules*, that thinke beste of hym: let *Cesar*, *Alexander*, and *Hannibal*, be bruted for warriers: Dauid in my iudgemente, bothe did more manly, then all the other were able, and serued his countrey in greater daunger, then euer any one of theim did. And shall wee not call suche a noble Captaine, a good man of warre. Deserueth not his manhode and stoute attempte, wonderfull praise: If vertue could speake, would she not sone confesse, that Dauid had her in full possession: And therefore, if well doynges, by right maie chalenge worthie bruite, Dauid will bee knowen, and neuer can want due praise, for such an honest deede. And what man will not saie, but that Dauid did minde nothyng els herein, but the saufegarde of his countrey, thinkyng it better for hymself to dye, and his countrey to liue, then hymself to liue, and his countrey to dye. What gaine gotte Dauid, by the death of Goliath, or what could he hope, by the death of suche a monster, but onely that the loue whiche he bare to the Israelites, forced hym to hassarde his owne life: thinkyng that if the Philistines should preuaile, the Israelites were like to perishe, euery mothers soonne of them: Therefore, he hassardyng this attempte, considered with hymself, the saufegarde of the Israelites, the maintainaunce of Iustice, his duetie towardes God, his obedience to his Prince, and his loue to his countrey. And no doubte, God made this enterpise appere

Dauids enterprise, honest & godlie.

By what helpe, and by whose, alone and without the help of any mã liuyng

Dauids enterprise, praise worthie.

Why for the saufegarde of his countrey.

Dauides enterprise, profitable to him self and his countrey.

full

full easie, before Dauid coulde haue the harte to matche hymselfe with suche a one. For though his harte might quake, beyng voide of Gods helpe, yet assuredly he wanted no stomacke, when God did set hym on. Let Tiraunte rage, let Hell stande open, let Sathan shewe his might, if GOD bee with vs, who can be against vs? Though this Goliah appered so strong, that tenne Dauides were not able to stande in his hande: yet ten Goliahs were all ouer weake for Dauid alone. Man can not iudge, neither can reason comprehende the mightie power of God. Dauides enterprise, appereth easie to hymselfe.

When Pharao with all his armie, thought fullie to destroye the children of Israell in the redde Sea, did not GOD preserue Moses, and destroyed Pharao? What is man, and all his power that he can make, in the handes of God, vnto whom all creatures bothe in heauen and in yearth, are subiecte at his commaundement? Therefore, it was no masterie for Dauid, beyng assisted with GOD, as well to matche with the whole armie, as to ouerthrow this one man. But what did the Israelites, whē thei sawe Dauid take vppon hym suche a bolde enterprise? Some saied he was rashe, other mocked hym to scorne, and his brethren called hym foole. For thought thei, what a madde felowe is hee, beyng but a lad in yeres, to matche with suche a monster in bodie? How can it bee possible otherwise, but that he shall bee torne in peces, euen at the firste commyng? For if the Philistine maie once hit hym, he is gone though he had ten mens lines. Now what should he meane, so vnegally to matche himselfe, except he were wearie of his life, or els were not well in his wittes? Yea, and to giue his enemies all the aduauntage that could be, he came vnarmed, and whereas the Philistine had very strong armour, bothe to defende hymselfe, and a strong weapon to fight withall: Dauid came with a sling onely, as though he would kill Crowes, whereat, not onely the Philistine laughed and disdained his folly, but also bothe the armies thought he was but a ded man, before he gaue one stroke. And in deede, by all reason and deuise of man, there was none other waie, but death with hym out of hande. Dauid notwithstanding, beyng kindeled in harte, with Gods might, was strong enough for hym, in his owne opinion, and forced not hyng, though all other were muche against hym. And therefore, made no more Dauides enterprise accōpted of his frendes hard & impossible.

How: with a sling.

a doe, but beyng readie to reuenge in Gods name, ſutche greate blaſphemie, as the Philiſtine then did vtter: marched toward his enemy, and with caſtyng a ſtone out of a ſlyng, he ouerthrewe the Philiſtine at the firſte. The whiche when he had doen, out with his ſworde and chopt of his hedde, caryng it with his armour, to the cãpe of the Iſraelites: whereat the Philiſtines were greatly aſtonied, and the Iſraelites much praiſed God, that had giuen ſuche grace to ſuche a one, to compaſſe ſuche a deede. And the rather this manly acte, is highly to bee praiſed becauſe he ſubdued this houge enemie, when Saull firſt reigned kyng of Iſrael, and was ſore aſſailed with the great armie of the Philiſtines. Let vs therefore that be now liuing, when this acte or ſuche like, come in to our mindes: remember what God is, of how infinite power he is, and let vs praiſe God in them, by whom he hath wrought ſuch wonders, to the ſtrengthning of our faith, and conſtant keping of our profeſſion, made to hym by euery one of vs in our Baptiſme.

Examinyng of the circumſtaunces.

i. Who did the deede?

DAuid beyng an Iſraelite, did this deede, beyng the ſonne of Iſai, of the tribe of Juda, a boye in yeares. This circumſtaunce was vſed, not onely in the narration, but alſo whē I ſpake of the honeſtie and Godlineſſe, whiche Dauid vſed, when he ſlue Goliah.

ii. What was doen?

He ſlue Goliah, the ſtrongeſt Giaunt emong the Philiſtines. This circumſtaunce I vſed alſo, when I ſpake of the honeſtie, in killyng Goliah.

iii. Where was it doen?

About the vale of Terebinthus.

iiij. What helpe had he to it?

He had no helpe of any man, but wēt hymſelf alone. And whereas Saule offered hym harneſſe, he caſte it awaie, and truſtyng onely in God, tooke hym to his ſlyng, with fower or fiue ſmall ſtones in his hande, the whiche were thought nothyng in mannes ſight, able either to doe little good, or els nothyng at all. This circumſtaunce I vſed, when I ſpake of the eaſineſſe and poſſibilitie, that was in Dauid to kill Goliah, by Gods helpe.

v. Where-

v. Wherefore did he it?

He aduentured his life, for the loue of his Countrey, for the maintenance of iustice, for the aduauncement of Gods true glory, and for the quietnesse of all Israell, neither seking fame, nor yet loking for any gaine. I vsed this circumstaunce when I shewed what profite he lought, in aduenturyng this deede.

vj. How did he it?

Marie, he put a stone in his slyng, and when he had caste it at the Philistine Goliah fell doune straight. I vsed this circumstaunce, when I spake of the impossibilitie of the thing.

vij. What tyme did he it?

This deede was doen, when Saule reigned first kyng ouer the Israelites, at what tyme the Philistines came againste the Israelites. Thus by the circumstaunces of thinges, a right worthie cause maie be plentifully enlarged.

¶ Of the Oration demonstratiue, where thinges are set forth, and matter commended.

THe kinde demonstratiue of thinges, is a meane whereby wee doo praise, or dispraise thinges, as Vertue, Vice, Townes, Cities, Castles, woodes, Waters, Hilles, and Mountaines.

¶ Places to confirme thinges, are fower.

Places of confirmation.

i. Thinges honest.
ii. Profitable.
iij. Easie to be doen.
iiij. Hard to be doen.

MAny learned will haue recourse to the places of *Logique*, in stede of these fower places, when thei take in hande to commende any suche matter. The whiche places, if thei make them serue, rather to commende the matter, then onely to teache men the truth of it, it were well doen, and Oratourlike, for seyng a man wholly bestoweth his witte to plaie the Oratour, he should chiefly seke to compasse that, whiche he entendeth, and not doe that onely whiche he neuer minded, for by plaine teaching, the *Logician* shewes hymself by large amplification, and beautifyng of his cause, the *Rhetorician* is alwaies knowne.

¶ *The places of Logique are these.*

- Definition.
- Causes.
- Partes.
- Effectes.
- Thinges adioynyng.
- Contraries.

Logique must be learned for confirmation of causes.

I Doe not see other wise, but that these places of *Logique* are confounded with the other power of confirmation, or rather I thinke these of *Logique* must firste bee minded, ere the other can well be had. For what is he, that can call a thing honeste, and by reason proue it, except he first knowe what the thing is: the whiche he can not better doe, then by definyng the nature of the thing. Againe, howe shall I knowe, whether myne attempte be easie or harde, if I knowe not the efficient cause, or be assured how it maie be doen. In affirmyng it to be possible, I shall not better know it, then by searching the ende, and learnyng by *Logique*, what is the finall cause of euery thyng.

¶ *An example in commendation of Iustice, or true dealyng.*

Iustice commended.

SO many as looke to liue in peaceable quietnesse, beyng minded rather to folowe reason, then to be led by wilfull affection: desire Iustice in all thinges, without the which no countrey is able long to continue. Then maie I be bolde to commende that, which all men wishe, and fewe can haue, whiche all men loue, and none can want: not doubtyng, but as I am occupied in a good thyng, so all good men will heare me with a good will. But would God I were so well able, to perswade all men to Iustice, as all menne knowe the necessarie vse thereof: and then vndoubtedly, I would bee mutche bolder, and force some by violence, whiche by faire wordes can not be entreated. And yet what nedes any perswasion for that thing, whiche by nature is so nedefull, and by experience so profitable, that looke what we want, without Iustice we get not, looke what we haue, without Iustice wee keepe not. God graunt vs his grace so to worke in the hartes of all men, that thei maie aswell practise well doyng in their owne life, as thei would that other should followe

Iusti e

Justice in their life: I for my parte will be stowe some labour, to set forthe the goodnesse of vpright dealyng, that all other men the rather maie doce thereafter. That if thrugh my wordes, God shall worke with any man, then maie I thinke my self in happie case, and reioyce muche in the trauaile of my witte. And how can it be otherwise, but that all men shalbe forced inwardly to allowe that, whiche in outward acte many doe not followe: seyng God powred firste this lawe of nature, into mannes harte, and graunted it as a meane, whereby wee might knowe his will, and (as I might saie) talke with hym, groundyng still his doynges vppon this poincte, that man should doe as he would bee doen vnto, the whiche is nothyng els, but to liue vprightly, without any will to hurte his neighbour. And therefore, hauyng this light of Goddes will opened vnto vs, thrugh his mere goodnesse, we ought euermore, to referre all our actions vnto this ende, bothe in giuyng iudgement, and deuisyng Lawes necessarie for mannes life. And here vpon it is, that when menne desire the Lawe, for triall of a matter, thei meane nothing els but to haue Justice, the whiche Justice is a vertue that yeldeth to euery man his owne: to the euer liuyng God loue aboue all thynges: to the Kyng obedience: to the inferiour good counsaile: to the poore man, mercie: to the hatefull and wicked, suffraunce: to it self, truthe: and to all men, perfite peace and charitie. Nowe, what can bee more saied, in praise of this vertue, or what thyng can bee like praised? Are not all thinges in good case, when all men haue their owne? And what other thyng doeth Justice, but seketh meanes to contente all parties? Then how greatly are thei to be praised, that meane truely in all their doinges, and not onely doe no harme to any, but seke meanes to helpe all. The Sunne is not so wonderfull to the worlde (saieth *Aristotle*) as the iuste dealyng of a gouernour, is marueilous to all men. No, the yearth yeldeth no more gaine to all creatures, then doth the Justice of a Magistrate, to his whole Realme. For, by a Lawe, we liue, and take the fruictes of the yearth, but where no Lawe is, nor Justice vsed: there nothyng can bee had, though all thinges be at hande: for in hauyng the thyng, we shall lacke the vse, and liuyng in greate pleutie, wee shall stande in greate nede. The meane therefore, that maketh men to enioye their owne, is

Justice naturally in euery one of vs.

Justice what it is, and how largely it extendeth.

Aristotle.

Iustice, the whiche beyng once taken awaie, all other thinges are lost with it, neither can any one saue that he hath, nor yet get that he wanteth. Therefore, if wrong doyng should be borne withall, and not rather punished by death, what manne could liue in rest? Who could bee sure either of his life, or of his liuyng one whole daie together? Now because euery man desireth the preseruation of hymself, euery man should in like case desire the sauegarde of his neighbour. For if I should wholly minde myne owne ease, and followe gaine without respecte, to the hinderaunce of myne euen Christian: why should not other vse the same libertie, and so euery man for himself, and the Deuill for vs all, catche that catche maie? The whiche custome if all men followed, the yearth would sone be voide, for want of men one would be so greadie to eate vp an other. For in seking to liue, wee should lose our liues, and in gapyng after goodes, wee should sone goe naked. Therefore, to represse this rage, and with wholsome deuises to traine men in an order, GOD hath lightened man with knowledge, that in all thinges he maie see what is right, and what is wrong, and vpon good aduisement deale iustly with all men. God hath created all thinges for mans vse, and ordeined manne, for mannes sake, that one man might helpe an other. For though some one haue giftes more plentifully then the common sorte, yet no man can liue alone, without helpe of other. Therefore, wee should striue one to helpe an other by iust dealyng, some this waie, and some that waie, as euery one shall haue neede, and as we shalbe alwaies best able, wherein the lawe of nature is fulfilled, and Gods commaundement followed. Wee loue them here in yearth, that giue vs fare woordes, and wee can bee contente, to speake well of theim, that speake well of vs: and shall me not loue them, and take them also for honeste men, which are contented from tyme to tyme, to yeeld euery man his owne, and rather would dye then consente to euill doyng? If one be ientle in outward behauiour, we like hym well, and shall wee not esteme hym that is vpright in his outwarde liuyng? And like as wee desire, that other should bee to vs, ought not wee to bee likewise, affected towardes theim? Euen emong brute Beastes, nature hath appointed a lawe, and shall we men liue without a lawe? The Storke beyng not able to feede her self for

Wrong dealyng deserueth death.

Iustice necessarie for al men.

From the lesse to the greater.

Yōg Storkes.

for age, is fedde of her pongones, wherein is declared a naturall loue, and shall we so liue that one shall not loue an other? Man should be vnto mā as a God, and shal man be vnto mā as a deuil? Hath God created vs, and made vs to his owne likenesse, enduing vs with all the riches of the yearth, that we might bee obediente to his will, and shall we neither loue hym, nor like his? How can we saie that we loue God, if there be no charitie in vs? Doe I loue hym, whose minde I will not followe, although it bee right honeste? If you loue me (saieth Christ) followe my commaundementes. Christes will is suche, that we should loue God aboue all thinges, and our neighbour as our self. Then if we doe not iustice (wherein loue doth consist) we doe neither loue man, nor yet loue God. The wiseman saieth: The beginnyng of a good life, is to doe Justice. Yea, the blessyng of the Lorde, is vpon the hed of the iuste. Heauen is theirs (saieth Dauid) that doe iustly from tyme to tyme. What els then shall wee doe, that haue any hope of the generall resurrection, but doe the will of God, and liue iustly all the daies of our life? Let euery man, but consider with hymself, what ease he shall find thereby, and I doubt not, but euery one deerely waiyng the same, will in harte confesse, that Justice maketh plentie, and that not one man, could long holde his owne if lawes were not made, to restraine mans will. We trauaile now, Winter and Sommer, we watche and take thought, for maintenance of wife and children, assuredly purposing (that though God shall take vs immediatly) to leaue honestly for our family. Now, to what ende were all our gatheryng together, if iust dealyng were sette a side, if lawes bare no rule, if what the wicked list, that thei maie, and what thei maie, that thei can, and what thei can, that thei dare, and what thei dare, the same thei do, and whatsoeuer thei doe, no man of power is a greued therewith? What maketh wicked men (whiche els would not) acknowledge the Kyng as their soueraine lorde, but the power of a lawe, and the practise of iustice for euill doers? Could a Prince maintaine his state royall, if lawe and right had not prouided, that euery mā should haue his owne? Would seruauntes obeie their Maisters, the sonne his father, the Tenaunt his Landlord, the Citezein his Maior or Sheriefe: if others were not set, iust dealyng appoineted for all states of men?

Unnaturalnesse in man towardes God.

Jhon.xiiii. Math.xix. Marke.x. Pro.xvi. Prouer.viii.

Psal.xcvi.

Profite of Justice.

Saufegarde had by iustice

Gradation.

The necessitie of iustice.

There-

Therfore, the true meaning folke in al ages giue thēselues some to this occupation, and some to that, seking therin nothing els but to maintain a poore life, and to kepe themselues true men, both to God and the worlde. What maketh men to performe their bargaines, to stande to their promises, and yeeld their debtes, but an order of a law grounded vpon Iustice? Where right beareth rule, there craft is counted vice. The liar is muche hated, where truth is well esteemed. The wicked theues are hāged, where good men are regarded. None can holde vp their hedds, or dare shewe their faces, in a well ruled cōmon weale, that are not thought honest, or at the least haue some honest waie to liue. The Egiptians therfore, hauing a worthy and a well gouerned common weale, prouided that none should liue idly, but that euery one Monthly should giue an accompt, how he spent his tyme, and had his name registred in a booke for the same purpose. But Lord, if this lawe were vsed in England, how many would come behinde hand with their reckeninges at the audite daie. I feare me their doynges would be such, that it would be long ere thei got their quietus est. Therfore the wourse is our state, the lesse that this euill is looked vnto. And surely, if in other thynges we should bee as negligente, this Realme could not long stande. But thankes be to God, we hang theim a pace, that offende a lawe, and therefore, we put it to their choise, whether thei will be idle, and so fall to stealyng or no: they knowe their reward, goe to it when thei will. But if therewithall some good order were taken, for education of youth, and setting loyterers on worke (as thākes be to God, the citee is moste Godly bent that waie) all would sone be well, without all doubt. The wise and discrete persones in al ages, sought all meanes possible, to haue an order in all thynges, and loued by Iustice to directe all their doynges, whereby appereth both an apte will in suche men, and a naturall stirryng by Gods power, to make all men good. Therfore if we do not well, we must blame our selues, that lacke a wil and do not call to God for grace. For though it appere hard to do well, because no mā can get perfectiō, without continuance: yet assuredly to an hūble minde that calleth to God, & to a willing hart that faine would doe his best, nothing can be hard. God hath set al thinges to sale for labor, & kepeth open shop come who will.

Where iustice is executed, vice is exiled

Egiptians, what order thei vsed to banishe idlenesse.

Iustice, easie to be obserued if will be not wantyng

There-

Therefore in all ages, whereas we see the fewest good, we must well thinke, the moste did lacke good will to alike, or seeke for the same. Lord, what loue had that worthie Prince *Selencus* to maintaine Iustice, and to haue good lawes kepte, of whom such a wonderfull thing is written. For whereas he established moste wholsome lawes, for sauegarde of the *Locrensians*, and his owne sonne therevpon taken in adulterie, should lose both his eyes, accordyng to the lawe then made, and yet notwithstandyng, the whole Citee thought, to remit the necessitie of his punishement, for the honour of his father, *Selencus* would none of that in any wise. Yet at last, through importunitie beyng ouercome, he caused firste one of his owne eyes to be pluckt out, and next after, one of his sonnes eyes, leauyng onely the vse of sight, to hymself and his soonne. Thus through equitie of the law, he vsed the due meane of chastisement, shewyng hymself by a wonderfull temperature, both a mercifull father, and a iuste lawe maker. Now happie are thei, that thus obserue a Lawe, thinkyng losse of bodie, lesse hurte to the man, then sparyng of punishemente, meete for the soule. For God will not faile them, that haue suche a desire to followe his will, but for his promise sake, he will rewarde them for euer. And now, seyng that iustice naturally is giuen to all men, without the whiche he could not liue, beyng warned also by God, alwaies to doe vprightly, perceiuyng againe the commodities, that redounde vnto vs, by liuyng vnder a Lawe, and the sauegarde, wherein we stande, hauing iustice to assiste vs: I trust that not onely all men, will commende iustice in worde, but also will liue iustly in deede, the which that we maie doe: God graunt vs of his grace. Amen. *Valer. li. vi.*

¶ *An Oration deliberatiue.*

AN Oration deliberatiue, is a meane, whereby we doe persuade, or dissuade, entreate, or rebuke, exhorte, or dehorte, commende, or comforte any man. In this kinde of Oration, we doe not purpose wholy to praise any bodie, nor yet to determine any matter in controuersie, but the whole compasse of this cause is, either to aduise our neighbour to that thing, which we thinke moste nedefull for him, or els to call hym backe from that folie, whiche hindereth much his estimation. As for example, if I would counsaile my freende to trauaile Oration deliberatiue.

naile beyonde the seas, for knowledge of the tongues, and experience in forreine countreis: I might resorte to this kinde of Oration, and finde matter to confirme my cause plentifully. And the reasons, whiche are commonly vsed to enlarge suche matters, are these that followe.

The thing is honeste. Profitable. Pleasaunt.

Sause: Easie. Harde.

Lawfull and meete. Praise worthie. Necessarie.

Honestie comprehendeth all vertues.

NOW in speakyng of honestie, I maie by deuision of the vertues make a large walke. Again, looke what Lawes, what customes, what worthie deedes, or sayinges haue been vsed heretofore, all these might serue well for the confirmation of this matter, lastly where honestie is called in to establishe a cause: there is nature and God hym self presente, from whom commeth all goodnesse. In the seconde place, where I spake of profite, this is to be learned, that vnder the same is comprehended the getting of gaine, and the eschuyng of harme. Againe, concernyng profite (whiche also beareth the name of goodnesse) it partly perteineth to the bodie, as beautie, strength, and health, partly to the minde, as the encrease of witte, the gettyng of experience, and heappyng together of muche learnyng: and partely to fortune (as Philosophers take it) whereby bothe wealth, honour, and frendes are gotten. Thus he that deuideth profite can not want matter.

Profite how largely it extendeth.

Profite beareth the name of goodnes, which is three folded.

Thirdly, in declaryng it is pleasant, I might heape together the varietie of pleasures, which come by trauaile, first the sweetenesse of the tongue, the wholsomnesse of the aire in other countries, the goodly wittes of the Gentlemen, the straunge and auncient buildinges, the wonderfull Monumentes, the greate learned clerkes in al faculties, with diuers other like, & almoste infinite pleasures.

Pleasures, largely sette out.

The easinesse of trauaile, maie thus bee perswaded, if wee shewe that free passage is by wholsome lawes appointed, for all straungers and waie fairers. And seeyng this life is none other thing but a trauaile, and we as pilgrimes, wander from place to place, much vnmeetenesse it were to thinke that harde, which nature

Easinesse of trauaile.

hath

hath made easie, yea, and pleasant also. None are more healthfull none more lustie, none more merie, none more strong of bodie, then such as haue trauailed countries. Marie vnto them, that had rather slepe all daie, then wake one houre (choising for any labour, Trauaile vnto whome it is harde.
slothfull idlenesse: thinkyng this life to be none other, but a continuall restyng place, vnto suche pardie, it shall seeme painefull to abide any labour. To learne *Logique*, to learne the lawe, to some it semeth so harde, that nothyng can enter into their heddes: and the reason is, that thei want a will, and an earnest minde, to doe their endeuour. For vnto a willing harte, nothyng can bee harde, Good will maketh great burdeines light.
laie lode on suche a mannes backe and his good harte, maie sooner make his backe to ake, then his good will can graunte to yeelde, and refuse the weight. And now where the sweete hath his sower ioyned with hym, it shalbe wisedome to speake somwhat of it, to mitigate the sowernesse thereof, as muche as maie be possible.

That is lawfull and praise worthie, which Lawes doe graunt, Lawfull.
good men doe allowe, experience commendeth, and men in all ages haue moste vsed.

A thyng is necessarie two maner of waies. First, when either Necessary two waies taken.
wee must doe some one thyng, or els doe worse. As if one should threaten a womā, to kill her if she would not lye with him, wherein appereth a forcible necessitie. As touchyng trauaile we might saie, either a man muste be ignorannt of many good thinges, and want greate experience, or els he must trauaile. Now to be ignorannt, is a greate shame, therefore to trauaile is moste nedefull, if we will auoide shame. The other kinde of necessitie is, when we perswade men to beare those thinges patiently, when wee perswade men to beare those crosses patiently, which God doth sende vs, considerynge, will we, or nill we, nedes must we abide them.

¶ To aduise one, to studie the lawes of Englande.

AGain, when we see our frend enclined to any kind of learnyng, we must counsaile hym to take that waie still, and by reason perswade him, that it wer the meetest waie for hym, to doe his countrey moste good. As if he giue his minde to the lawes of the realme, & finde an aptnes thereunto, we maie aduise hym, to continue in his good entent, and by reason perswade him, that it were moste meete for hym so to do. And first we might Lawes of Englande.

shewe

shew him that the studie is honest and godly, considering it onely followeth iustice, and is grounded wholy vppon naturall reason. Wherin we might take a large scope, if we should fully speake of all thinges, that are comprehended vnder honestie. For he that will knowe what honestie is, must haue an vnderstanding, of all the vertues together. And because the knowledge of them is most necessarie, I will briefly set them forth. There are fower especiall and chief vertues, vnder whom all other are comprehended.

Vertues especiall and chief fower in nomber.

- Prudence, or wisedome.
- Iustice.
- Manhode.
- Temperaunce.

Prudence, what it is.

PRudence, or wisedome (for I will here take them both for one) is a vertue that is occupied euermore in searching out the truth. Nowe we all loue knowledge, and haue a desire to passe other therein, and thinke it shame to be ignoraunt: and by studying the lawe, the truthe is gotten out, by knowing the truthe, wisedome is attained. Wherefore, in perswading one to studie the lawe, you maie shewe hym, that he shall get wisedome thereby. Under this vertue are comprehended.

Parties of Prudence.

- Memorie.
- Understanding.
- Foresight.

THE memorie, calleth to accompt those thinges, that were doen heretofore, and by a former remembraunce, getteth an after witte, and learneth to auoide deceipt.

Understanding seeth thinges presently doen, and perceiueth what is in them, weighing and debating them, vntill his minde be fully contented.

Foresight, is a gathering by coniectures, what shall happen, and an euidence perceiuing of thinges to come, before they doe come.

Iustice

Iustice what it is.

Iustice is a vertue, gathered by long space, giuing euery one his owne, minding in all thynges, the common profitte of our countrey, whereunto man is moste bound, and oweth his full obedience.

Now nature firste taught man, to take this waie, and would euery

euery one so to doe vnto an other, as he would be doen vnto hym-
self. For whereas Raine watereth all in like, the Sunne shineth
indifferently ouer all, the fruicte of the yearth encreaseth equally.
God warneth vs to bestowe our good will after the same sorte,
hyng as duetie bindeth vs, and as necessitie shall beste require.
Yea, God graunted his giftes diuersly emong men, because he
would man should knowe and feele, that man is borne for man,
and that one hath nede of an other. And therefore, though nature
hath not stirred some, yet through the experience that man hath,
concernyng his cõmoditie: many haue turned the lawe of nature
into an ordinary custome, and followed the same as though they
were bound to it by a law. Afterward, the wisedome of Princes, &
the feare of Gods threate, which was vttered by his worde, forced
men by a lawe, both to allowe thinges confirmed by nature, and
to beare with old custome, or els thei should not onely suffer in bo-
dy temporall punishment, but also lose their soules for euer. Na-
ture is a right that phantasie hath not framed, but God hath graf-
fed, and giuen man power therevnto, whereof these are deriued. Nature, what it is.

Religion, and acknowlegyng of God.
Naturall loue to our children, and other.
Thankfulnesse to all men.
Stoutnesse, bothe to withstande and reuenge.
Reuerence to the superiour.
Assured and constaunt truthe in thinges.

REligion, is an humble worshippyng of GOD, ac- Religion.
knowlegyng him to be the creatour of creatures, and
the onely giuer of all good thinges.

Naturall loue, is an inwarde good will, that we Naturall loue.
beare to our parentes, wife, children, or any other that be nigh of
kinne vnto vs, stirred therevnto not onely by our flesthe, thinkyng
that like as we would loue our selues, so we should loue them, but
also by a likenesse of minde: and therefore generally we loue all,
because all be like vnto vs, but yet we loue them moste, that both
in body and minde be moste like vnto vs. And hereby it commeth,
that often we are liberall and bestow our goods vpon the nedy, re-
membryng that thei are all one flesthe with vs, and should not want

when wee haue it, without our greate rebuke and token of our moste vnkinde dealyng.

Thankefulnesse.

Thankfulnesse is a requityng of loue, for loue, and will, for will, shewyng to our frendes, the like goodnesse that we finde in them: yea, strivyng to passe them in kindnesse, losing neither tyme nor tide to doe them good.

Stoutnesse.

Stoutnesse to withstand and reuenge euill, is then vsed when either we are like to haue harme, and do withstand it, or els when we haue suffered euill for the truthe sake, and thereupon doe reuenge it, or rather punishe the euill, whiche is in the man.

Reuerence.

Reuerence, is an humblenesse in outward behauour, when we doe our dutie to them, that are our betters, or vnto suche as are called to serue the Kyng in some greate vocation.

Assured and constaunt truthe.

Assured and constant truth is, when we doe beleue that those thynges, whiche are, or haue been, or hereafter are about to be, can not otherwise be, by any meanes possible.

Right by custome.

That is right by custome, whiche long tyme hath confirmed, beyng partly grounded vpon nature, and partly vpon reason, as where we are taught by nature, to knowe the euer liuyng God, and to worshippe hym in spirite, we tournyng natures light, into blinde custome, without Gods will, haue vsed at length to beleue, that he was really with vs here in yearth, and worshipped hym not in spirite, but in Copes, in Candlestickes, in Belles, in Tapers, and in Censers, in Crosses, in Bäners, in shauen Crounes, and long Gounes, and many good morowes els, deuised onely by the phantasie of man, without the expresse will of GOD. The which childishe toyes, tyme hath so long confirmed, that the truth is scant able to trie them out, our hartes be so harde, and our wits be so farre to seeke.

Custome with our natures grosse vngodly.

Again, wher we se by nature, that euery one should deale truly, custome encreaseth natures wil, and maketh by aucient demeanes thinges to be iustly obserued, whiche nature hath appointed.

As { Bargainyng. / Commons, or equalitie. / Iudgement giuen. }

BArgainyng is, when two haue agreed for the sale of some ouchyng, the one will make his felowe to stande to the bargaine, though

though it be to his neighbours vndoing, restyng vpon this poinct, that a bargaine is a bargaine, and must stand without all exception, although nature requireth to haue thinges doen by conscience, and would that bargainyng should be builded vpon iustice, whereby an vpright dealyng, and a charitable loue, is vttered emongest all men.

Commons. Commons or equalitie, is when the people by long tyme haue a ground, or any such thing emong them, the which some of them will keepe still for custome sake, and not suffer it to be fenced, and conuerted to pasture, though thei might gaine ten tymes the value: but such stubburnesse in keeping of cōmons for custome sake, is not standyng with Iustice, because it is holde against al right.

Judgemente giuen. Judgemente giuen, is when a matter is confirmed by a Parliament, or a Lawe, determined by a Iudge, vnto the whiche manyhed strong men will stande to die for it, without sufferaunce of any alteration, not remembryng the circumstaunce of thynges, and that tyme altereth good actes.

Right by Lawe. That is right by a law, when the truth is vttered in writyng, and commaunded to be kepte, euen as it is sette forth vnto them.

¶ *Fortitude or manhode.*

Manhode. FOrtitude, is a considerate hasardyng vpon daunger, and a willyng harte to take paines, in behalfe of the right. Now, when can stoutnesse be better vsed, then in a iuste maintenaunce of the Lawe, and constaunt tryyng of the truthe: Of this vertue, there are fower braunches.

Honourablenesse.
Stoutnesse.
Sufferaunce.
Continuaunce.

Honorablenesse. HOnourablenesse is a noble ordering of weightie matters, with a lustie harte, and a liberall vsyng of his wealthe, to the encrease of honour.

Stoutnesse. Stoutnesse, is an assured truste in hymselfe, when he mindeth the compasse of moste weightie matters, and a couragious defendyng of his cause.

Sufferance. Sufferaunce, is a willyng and a long bearyng of trouble and tryyng of paines: for the maintenaunce of vertue, and the wealth

when wee haue it, without our greate rebuke and token of our moste vnkinde dealyng.

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Continuaunce.

Honorablenesse. HOnourablenesse is a noble ordering of weightie matters, with a lustie harte, and a liberall vsyng of his wealthe, to the encrease of honour.

Stoutnesse. Stoutnesse, is an assured truste in hymselfe, when he mindeth the compasse of moste weightie matters, and a courageous defendyng of his cause.

Sufferance. Sufferaunce, is a willyng and a long bearyng of trouble and takyng of paines: for the maintenaunce of vertue, and the wealth

of his countrey.

Cõtinuance. Continuaunce, is a stedfast and constaunte abidyng, in a purposed and well aduised matter, not yeldyng to any man in quarell of the right.

¶ *Temperaunce.*

Tẽperance. TEmperaũce, is a measuring of affections accordyng to the will of reason, and a subduyng of lustes vnto the Square of honestie. Yea, and what one thyng doth some mitigate the inmoderate passions of our nature, then the perfect knowlege of right and wrong, and the iuste execution appointed by a law, for all wagyng the wilfull: Of this vertue, there are three partes.

Sobrietie.
Gentlenesse.
Modestie.

Sobrietie. SObrietie, is a bridelyng by discretion, the wilfulnesse of desire.

Gentlenesse. Gentlenesse, is a caulmyng of heate, when wee begin to rage, and a lowly behauiour in all our bodie.

Modestie. Modestie, is an honest shamefastnesse, whereby we kepe a constaunt looke, and appere sober in all our outward doynges. Now, euen as we should desire the vse of all these vertues, so should we eschue not onely the contraries hereunto, but also auoide all suche euilles, as by any meanes doe withdrawe vs from well doyng.

¶ *It is profitable.*

AFter we haue perswaded our frende, that the lawe is honest, drawyng our argumentes from the heape of vertues, we must goe further with hym, and bryng hym in good beleue that it is very gainefull. For many one seke not the knowlege of learnyng for the goodnesse sake, but rather take paines for the gaine, whiche thei see doeth arise by it. Take awaie the hope of lucre, and you shall see fewe take any paines: no, not in the Vineyarde of the Lorde. For although none should followe any trade of life for the gaine sake, but euen as he seeth it is moste necessarie, for the aduauncement of Gods glorie, and not passe in what estimation thynges are had in this worlde: yet because we are all so weake of witte in our tender yeres, that we can not weigh with our selues what is beste, and our bodie so

Hope of reward maketh menne take paines.

nesse,

neſſe, that it looketh euer to be cheriſhed, we take that whiche is moſte gaineſull for vs, and forſake that altogether, whiche wee ought moſte to followe. So, that for lacke of honeſt meanes, and for want of good order, the beſt waie is not vſed, neither is Gods honour in our firſte yeres remembred. I had rather (ſaied one) make my childe a Cobler, then a Preacher, a Tankerd bearer, then a Scholer. For what ſhall my ſonne ſeke for learning, when he ſhall neuer gette thereby any liuyng: Sette my ſonne to that, whereby he maie get ſomewhat: Doe ye not ſee, how euery one catcheth and pulleth from the Churche what thei can: I feare me one daie, thei will plucke doune Church and all. Call you this the Goſpell, when menne ſeke onely to prouide for their belies, and care not a groate though their ſoules goe to Hell: A patrone of a benefice, will haue a poore ymgrame ſoule, to beare the name of a Parſon, for twentie marke or ten pounde: and the patrone hymſelf, will take vp for his ſnapſhare, as good as an hundred marke. Thus God is robbed, learnyng decaied, Englande diſhonoured, and honeſtie not regarded. The olde Romaines not yet knowing Chriſte, and yet beyng led by a reuerent feare towardes God, made this lawe. *Sacrum ſacroue commendatum qui clepſerit, rapſeritue, parricida eſt.* He that ſhall cloſely ſteale, or forcible take awaie that thyng whiche is holy, or giuen to the holy place, is a murderer of his countrie. But what haue I ſaied: I haue a greater matter in hande, then whereof I was a ware, my penne hath rume ouer farre, when my leaſure ſerueth not, nor yet my witte is able to talke this cale in ſuche wiſe, as it ſhould bee, and as the largeneſſe thereof requireth. Therefore, to my Lawier againe, whom I doubte not to perſwade, but that he ſhall haue the Deuill and all, if he learne a pace, and doe as ſome haue doen before him. Therefore, I will ſhewe how largely this profite extendeth, that I maie haue hym the ſoner to take this matter in hand. The lawe therefore, not onely bringeth muche gaine with it, but alſo aduaunceth men, bothe to worſhip, renoume, and honour. All men ſhall ſeke his fauour for his learnyng ſake, the beſt ſhall like his companie for his callyng; and his wealth with his ſkill ſhalbe ſuche, that none ſhalbe able to woorke hym any wrong. Some conſider profite, by theſe circumſtaunces folowyng.

The Romaines lawes for Churche dignitees.

To whom.
When.
Where.
Wherefore.

Circũſtaunces in obſeruyng profite.

NEither can I vſe a better order, then theſe circumſtaunces miniſter vnto me. To whom therefore is the lawe profitable? Marie, to them that be beſt learned, that haue readie wittes, and will take paines. When is the law profitable? Aſſuredly, both now and euermore, but eſpecially in this age, where all menne goe together by the eares, for this matter, and that matter. Sutche alteration hath been heretofore, that hereafter nedes muſt enſue muche altercation. And where is all this a doe? Euen in little Englande, or in Weſtminſter hall, where neuer yet wanted buſineſſe, nor yet euer ſhall. Wherefore is the law profitable? Undoubtedly, becauſe no man could hold his owne, if there were not an order to ſtaie vs, and a lawe to reſtraine vs. And I praie you, who getteth the money? The Lawiers no doubt. And were not land ſomtimes cheaper bought, then got by the triall of a Lawe? Doe not men commonly for trifles fall out? Some for lopping of a Tree, ſpendes all that euer thei haue, an other for a Goſe that graſeth vpon his ground, tries the lawe ſo hard, that he proues hymſelf a Gander.

Folly in many, that goe to the Lawe.

Lawiers, neuer dye beggers.

Now, whē men be ſo mad, is it not eaſie to get money emong thē? Undoubtedly, the lawier neuer dieth a begger. And no maruaile. For an. C. beggers for hym, and makes awaie all that thei haue, to get that of hym, the whiche, the oftener he beſtoweth, the more ſtill he getteth. So that he gaineth alwaies, aſwell by encreaſe of learnyng, as by ſtoryng his purſe with money, whereas the other get a warme Sonne often tymes, and a flappe with a Fore taile, for all that euer thei haue ſpente. And why would thei? Tuſhe if it were to doe againe, thei would doe it: therefore, the Lawier can neuer want liuyng till the yearth want men and all be voide.

¶ The Lawe eaſie to many, and harde to ſome.

IDoubte not, but my Lawier is perſwaded that the lawe is profitable, now muſt I beare hym in hande that it is an eaſie matter, to become a Lawier. The whiche, if I

ſhall

shall bee able to proue. I doubte not, but he will proue a good Lawier, and that right shortly: the Lawe is grounded vppon reason. And what hardnesse is it for a man by a reason, to finde out reason. That can not be straunge vnto hym, the grounde whereof is graffed in his breaste. What, though the lawe be in a straunge tongue, the woordes maie be gotte without any paine, when the matter self is compaste with ease. Tushe, a little lawe will make a greate shewe, and therefore, though it bee muche to become excellent, yet it is easie to get a taste. And surely for gettyng of money, a little will doe asmuche good oftentymes, as a greate deale. There is not a woorde in the law, but it is a grote in the Lawiers purse. I haue knowen diuers, that by familiar talkyng and mouting together, haue come to right good learnyng, without any greate booke skill, or muche beatyng of their braine, by any close study or secrete musing in their chamber. But where some saie the lawe is very harde, and discourage young men from the study thereof, it is to bee vnderstande of suche as will take no paines at all, nor yet minde the knowlege thereof. For what is not harde to man, when he wanteth will to doe his beste. As good slepe, and saie it is harde: as wake and take no paines.

The Lawe. { Godlie. Justice. Necessarie. Pleasaunt.

What needeth me, to proue the Lawe to be Godly, iuste, or necessarie, seing it is grounded vpon Gods wil, and all Lawes are made for the maintenaunce of Justice. If we will not beleue that it is necessarie, let vs haue Rebelles againe to disturbe the Realme. Our nature is so fonde, that wee knowe not the necessitie of a thing, till we finde some lacke of the same. Bowes are not esteined, as thei haue been emong vs Englishemen, but if wee were once well beaten by our enemies, we should sone knowe the want, and with helping the smarte, lament muche our folly. Take awaie the lawe, and take awaie our liues, for nothyng maintaineth our wealthe, our healthe, and the saufgarde of our bodies, but the Lawe of a realme, whereby the wicked are condempned, and the Godlie are defended. Lawes maintaine life.

¶ *An Epistle to perswade a yong Gentleman to mariage, deuised by Erasmus, in the behalfe of his frende.*

ALbeit, you are wise enough of your self, through that singulare wisedome of yours (moste louing Cosine) and little needes the aduise of other, yet either for that olde frendshippe, whiche hath been betwixte vs, and continued with our age, euen from our Cradles, or for such your greate good tournes, shewed at all tymes towardes me, or els for that faste kinred and aliaunce, which is betwixt vs: I thought my self thus muche to owe vnto you, if I would be suche a one in deede, as you euer haue taken me, that is to saye, a manne bothe frendly and thankefull, to tell you freely (what soeuer I iudged to appertaine either to the sauegarde or worshippe of you, or any of yours) and willyngly to warne you of the same. We are better seen oftentymes in other mennes matters, then wee are in our owne. I haue felte often your aduise in myne owne affaires, and I haue found it to be fortunate vnto me, as it was frendly. Now, if you will likewise in your owne matters, followe my counsaile. I truste it shall so come to passe, that neither I shall repente me, for that I haue giuen you counsaile, nor yet you shall forthinke your self, that you haue obeyed and followed myne aduise.

There was at supper with me the twelue daie of Aprill, when I laie in the countrie, *Antanius Baldus*, a man (as you knowe) that moste earnestly tendereth your welfare, and one that hath been alwaies of greate acquaintaunce, and familiaritie with your sonne in Lawe: a heauie feaste wee had, and full of muche mournyng. He tolde me greatly to bothe our heauinesse, that your mother that moste Godly woman, was departed this life, and your sister beyng ouercome with sorowe and heauinesse, had made her self a Nunne, so that in you onely remaineth the hope of issue, and maintenance of your stocke. Whereupon your frendes with one consent, haue offerde you in Mariage, a Gentlewoman of a good house, and muche wealthe, faire of bodie, very well brought vp, and suche a one as loueth you with all her harte. But you (either for your late sorowes, whiche you haue in freshe remembraunce, or els for Religion sake (haue so purposed to liue a single life, that neither can you for loue of your stocke, neither for desire of issue,

nor

nor yet for any entreatie of your frendes can make, either by praying, or by weeping: be brought to chaunge your minde. And yet notwithstanding all this (if you will followe my counsaile) you shall be of an other mynde, and leauyng to liue single, whiche bothe is barraine, and finally agreyng with the state of mannes Nature, you shall giue your self wholly to moste holy Wedlocke. And for this parte, I will neither wishe, that the loue of your frendes (which els ought to ouercome your nature) nor yet myne auctoritie that I haue ouer you, should doe me any good at all, to compasse this my request, if I shal not proue vnto you by moste plaine reasons, that it will bee bothe mutche more honeste, more profitable, and also moste pleasaunte for you to marie, then to liue otherwise. Yea, what will you saie if I proue it also, to be necessarie for you at this tyme to marie. And first of all, if honestie maie moue you in this matter (the whiche emong all good men, ought to bee of mutche weight) what is more honeste then Matrimoue, the whiche Christe hymself did make honeste, when not onely he, vouchsaued to bee at the Mariage with his mother, but also did consecrate the Mariage feaste, with the firste miracle, that euer he did vppon yearth: What is more holy then Matrimonie, whiche the creatour of all thynges did institute, did fasten and make holy, and nature it self did establishe: What is more praise worthie, then that thyng, the whiche, whosoeuer shall dispraise, is condemned straight for an Heretique: Matrimonie, is euen as honourable, as the name of an Heretique is thought shamefull. What is more right or meete, then to giue that vnto the posteritie, the which we haue receiued of our auncesters: What is more inconsiderate, then vnder the desire of holinesse, to eschue that as vnholy, which GOD hymself, the fountain and father of all holinesse, would haue to be counted is moste holy: What is more vnmanly then that man should goe against the lawes of mankinde: What is more vnthankefull, then to deny that vnto younglinges, the whiche (if thou hadest not receiued of thine elders) thou couldest not haue been the man liuyng, able to haue denied it vnto theim. That if you would knowe, who was the firste founder of Mariage, you shall vnderstande, that it came not vp by Licurgus, nor yet by Moses, nor yet by Solon: but it was firste ordeined and

Praise worthie to marie.

Right and meete to marie.

Mariage firste made by God.

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ALbeit, you are wise enough of your self, through that singulare wisedome of yours (moste louing Cosme) and little needes the aduise of other, yet either for that olde frendshippe, whiche hath been betwixte vs, and continued with our age, euen from our Cradles, or for such your greate good tournes, shewed at all tymes towardes me, or els for that faste kinred and aliaunce, which is betwixt vs: I thought my self thus muche to owe vnto you, if I would be suche a one in deede, as you euer haue taken me, that is to saie, a manne bothe frendly and thankefull, to tell you freely (what soeuer I iudged to appertaine either to the sauegarde or worshippe of you, or any of yours) and willyngly to warne you of the same. We are better seen oftentymes in other mennes matters, then wee are in our owne. I haue felte often your aduise in myne owne affaires, and I haue found it to be fortunate vnto me, as it was frendly. Now, if you will likewise in your owne matters, followe my counsaile. I truste it shall so come to passe, that neither I shall repente me, for that I haue giuen you counsaile, nor yet you shall forthinke your self, that you haue obeyed and followed myne aduise.

There was at supper with me the twelue daie of Aprill, when I laie in the countrie, *Antonius Baldus*, a man (as you knowe) that moste earnestly tendereth your welfare, and one that hath been alwaies of greate acquaintaunce, and familiaritie with your sonne in Lawe: a heaule feaste wee had, and full of muche mournyng. He tolde me greatly to bothe our heauinesse, that your mother that moste Godly woman, was departed this life, and your sister beyng ouercome with sorowe and heauinesse, had made her self a Nunne, so that in you onely remaineth the hope of issue, and maintenance of your stocke. Whereupon your frendes with one consent, haue offerde you in Mariage, a Gentlewoman of a good house, and muche wealthe, faire of bodie, very well brought vp, and suche a one as loueth you with all her harte. But you (either for your late sorowes, whiche you haue in freshe remembraunce, or els for Religion sake (haue so purposed to liue a single life, that neither can you for loue of your stocke, neither for desire of issue,

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Praise worthie to marie.

Right and meete to marie.

Mariage firste made by God.

instituted, by the chiefe founder of all thinges, commended by the same, made honourable, and made holie by the same. For, at the first when he made man of the yearth, he did perceiue that his life should be miserable and vnsauerie, except he ioyned Eue as mate vnto hym. Wherevpon he did not make the wife vppon the same clate, whereof he made man: but he made her of Adams Ribbes, to the ende we might plainly vnderstande, that nothyng ought to bee more deare vnto vs then our wife, nothyng more nigh vnto vs, nothyng surer ioyned, and (as a man would saie) faster glewed together. The self same God, after the generall flood beyng reconciled to mankinde, is saied to proclaime this lawe first of al, not that menne should liue single, but that thei should increase, be multiplied and fill the yearth. But how I praie you could this thyng be, saiyng by mariage and lawfull comyng together? And first least we should alledge here, either the libertie of Moses law, or els the necessitie of that tyme: what other meanyng els, hath that common and commendable report of Christe in the Gospell, for this cause (saieth he) shall manne leaue father and mother, and cleane to his wife. And what is more holie then the reuerence and loue due vnto parentes? And yet the truth promised in Matrimonie, is preferred before it, and by whose meanes? Marie by God hymself, at what tyme? Forsoth not onely emong the Iewes, but also emong the Christians. Men forsake father and mother, and takes them selues wholie to their wiues. The sonne beyng paste twentie yeares is free and at libertie. Yea, the soonne beyng abdicated becometh no sonne. But it is death onely that parteth maried folke, if yet death doeth parte them. Now, if the other Sacramentes (whereunto the Churche of Christe chiefly leaneth) be reuerently vsed, who dooeth not see, that this Sacramente, should haue the moste reuerence of all, the whiche was instituted of God, and that firste and before all other. As for the other, thei were instituded vpon yearth, this was ordeined in Paradise: the other were giuen for a remedie, this was appointed for the felosshippe of felicitie: the other were applied to mans nature, after the fall this onely was giuen, when man was in moste perfite state. If we compte those lawes good, that mortall menne haue enacted, shall not the lawe of Matrimonie be moste holie, whiche wee

After manne was made, the woman was ioyned vnto hym.

Matrimonie renewed after the flood.

Natures worke, allowed by gods woords.

haue

haue receiued of hym, by whom wee haue receiued life, the whiche Lawe was then together enacted, when manne was firste created: And lastly, to strengthen this Lawe, with an example and deede doen, Christe beyng a young man (as the storie reporteth) was called to a Mariage, and came thether willyngly with his mother, and not onely was he there present, but also he did honest the feaste with a wonderfull maruaile, beginnyng firste in none other place, to worke his wonders and to doe his miracles. Why ther: I praie you (will one saie) how happeneth it, that Christ forbare mariage? As though good sir, there are not many thynges in Christe, at the whiche we ought rather to maruaile, then seeke to followe. He was borne, and had no father, he came into this worlde, without his mothers painfull trauaile, he came out of the graue whē it was closed vp, what is not in him aboue nature: Let these thynges bee proper vnto hym. Lette vs that liue within the boundes of nature, reuerence those thynges that are aboue nature, and followe suche thinges as are within our reach, such as we are able to compasse. But yet (you saie) he would be borne of a virgin; of a virgin (I graunt) but yet of a maried virgin. A virgin beyng a mother did moste become God, and beyng maried, she shewed what was beste for vs to doe. Virginitie did become her, who beyng vndefiled brought hym forthe by heauenly inspiration, that was vndefiled. And yet Joseph beyng her housbande, doeth commende vnto vs the law of chaste wedlocke. Yea, how could he better set out the societie in wedlocke, thā that willing to declare the secrete societie of his Diuine nature, with the bodie and soule of man whiche is wonderfull, euen to the heauenly Angels, and to shewe his vnspeakable and euer abidyng loue toward his church: he doeth call hymself the Bridegrome, and her the Bride. Great is the Sacrament of Matrimonie (saieth Paule) betwixt Christe and his Church. If there had been vnder heauen, any holier yoke, if there had been any more religious couenaunt, thā is Matrimonie, without doubt the example thereof had been vsed. But what like thing doe you reade in all scripture of the single life? The Apostle S. Paule in the thirtene Chapiter of his Epistle to the Hebrues, calleth Matrimonie honourable emong all menne, and the bed vndefiled, and yet the single life is not so much as once named

Mariage beautified by a miracle.

Mariage honourable.

in

in the same place. Naie, thei are not borne withall that liue single, except thei make some recompence, with doing some great thing. For els, if a man followyng the Lawe of Nature, doe labour to get children, he is euer to be preferred before hym, that liueth still vnmaried, for none other ende, but because he would bee out of trouble, and liue more free. We doe reade, that suche as are in very deede chast of their bodie, and liue a Virgines life, haue been praised: but the single life was neuer praised of it self. Now, again the lawe of Moses, accursed the barrennesse of maried folke: and we doe reade that some were excommunicated, for the same purpose, and banished from the Altare. And wherefore I praie you: Marie sir, because that thei like vnprofitable persones, and liuing onely to them selues, did not encrease the worlde with any issue.

Deut. vi. In Deuteronomi, it was the chiefest token of Gods blessynges vnto the Israelites, that none should bee barreine emong theim, neither manne, nor yet woman. And Lia is thought to be out of Goddes fauour, because she could not bryng for the children.

Lia. Yea, and the Psalme of Dauid. 128. it is counted one of the chiefest partes of blesse, to bee a fruictfull woman. Thy wife (saieth the Psalme) shalbe plentifull like a Vine, & thy children like the braūches of Olines, round about thy Table. Then if the lawe doe condemne, and vtterly disalowe barren Matrimonie, it hath alwaies much more condemned the single life of Batchelars. If the fault of nature hath not escaped blame, the will of man can neuer want rebuke. If thei are accursed that would haue children, and can get none, what deserue thei which neuer trauaile to escape barrēnesse?

Hebrues lawe for maried folke. The Hebrues had such a reuerence to maried folke, that he which had maried a wife, the same yere should not bee forced to goe on warfare. A Cittee is like to fall to ruine, except there be watchmē to defend it with armes. But assured destruction must here nedes follow, except men through the deuelish obmatiage supplie issue, the which through mortalitie, doe from tyme to tyme decaie.

Plutarchus in the life of Cato. Ouer and besides this, the Romaines did laie a penaltie vpon their backe, that liued a single life, yea, they would not suffer theim to beare any office in the common weale. But thei that had encreased the worlde with issue, had a reward by commen assente, as men that did deserued well of their countrey. The olde foxes

foꝛen lawes did appoincte penalties foꝛ ſutche as liued ſingle, the whiche although, thei were qualified by *Conſtancius* the Emperour, in the fauour of Chriſtes religion: yet theſe lawes doe declare, how little it is foꝛ the common weales aduauncement, that either a Citee ſhould be leſned foꝛ loue of ſole life, oꝛ els that the countrey ſhould bee filled full of Baſtardes. And beſides this, the Emperour *Auguſtus*, beyng a ſoꝛe punyſher of euill behauiour, examined a ſoldiour becauſe he did not marie his wife, accoꝛdyng to the lawes, the whiche ſoldiour had hardely eſcaped iudgement, if he had not got thꝛee childꝛen by her. And in this poincte doe the lawes of the Emperours, ſeeme fauoꝛable to maꝛied folke, that thei abꝛogate ſuche vowes, as were pꝛoclaimed to bee kepte, and bꝛought in by *Miſcella*, and would that after the penaltie were remitted, ſutche couenauntes beyng made againſt all right and conſcience, ſhould alſo be taken of none effecte, and as voide in the lawe. Ouer and beſides this, *Vlpianus* doth declare, that the matter of Doꝛwries was euer moꝛe, and in al places the chiefeſt aboue all other, the whiche ſhould neuer haue been ſo, except there came to the common weale, ſome eſpeciall pꝛofite by mariage. Mariage haue euer been reuerenced, but fruictfulneſſe of bodie, hath been muche moꝛe, foꝛ ſo ſone as one gotte the name of a father, there diſcended not onely vnto hym inheritaunce of lande, but all bequeſtes, and goods of ſutche his frendes, as died inteſtate. The whiche thyng appereth plaine, by the *Satyre* Poete.

Auguſtus Ceſar.

Miſcella.

Vlpianus.

Through me thou art made, an heire to haue lande,
Thou haſt all bequeſtes one with an other:
All gooddes and cattell are come to thy hande,
Yea gooddes inteſtate, thou ſhalt haue ſure.

Iuuenall.

Now he that hath thꝛee childꝛen, was moꝛe fauoured, foꝛ he he was exempted from all outward ambaſſages. Againe, he that had fiue childꝛen, was diſcharged and fꝛée from al perſonall office, as to haue the gouernaunce, oꝛ patronage of young Gentlemen, the whiche in thoſe daies was a greate charge, and full of paines, without any pꝛofite at all. He that had thirtene childꝛen, was free by the Emperour Iulianus lawe, not onely from beyng a man of armes, oꝛ a Capitaine ouer hoꝛſmen: but alſo from all other offices

fices in the common weale. And the wise founders of all Lawes, giue good reason why suche fauour was shewed to maried folke. For what is more blessefull then to liue euer? Now, where as nature hath denied this, Matrimonie doeth giue it by a certaine sleight, so muche as maie be. Who doeth not desire to be buried, and liue through fame emong men hereafter? Now, there is no buildyng of pullers, no erectyng of Arches, no blasing of Armes, that doeth more set forthe a mans name, then doeth the encrease of children. *Albinus* obteined his purpose of the Emperour *Adrian*, for none other desert of his, but that he had begot an housefull of children. And therefore the Emperour (to the hinderaunce of his treasure) suffered the children to enter wholie vppon their fathers possession, for asmuch as he knewe well, that his Realme was more strengthened with encrease of children, then with store of money. Again, all other lawes are neither agreing for all Countries, nor yet vsed at all tymes. *Licurgus* made a Lawe, that thei whiche maried not, should be kept in Sommer from the sight of stage plaies, and other wonderfull shewes, and in Winter, thei should goe naked aboute the Market place, and accursing their selues, thei should confesse openly that thei had iustly deserued such punishemente, because thei did not liue accordyng to the Lawes. And without any more adoe, will ye knowe how muche our olde auncestours heretofore estemed Matrimonie? Weigh well, and consider the punishement for breaking of wedlocke. The Grekes heretofore thought it mete, to punishe the breache of Matrimonie with battaile, that continued ten yeres. Yea, moreouer not onely by the Romaine Lawe, but also by the Hebrues and straungers, aduouterous persones were punished with death. If a theefe paied fower tymes the value of that whiche he tooke awaie, he was deliuered: but an aduouterers offence, was punished with the sword. Emong the Hebrues, the people stoned the aduouterers to death with their owne handes, because thei had broken that, without whiche the worlde could not continue. And yet thei thought not this sore Lawe sufficient inough, but graunted further to run him through without Lawe, that was taken in aduoutrie, as who should saie, thei graunted that to the griefe of maried folke, the whiche thei would hardly graunt to hym, that stoode in his owne defence

Licurgus lawe against vnmaried folke.

Punishmentes appointed for breakyng of wedlocke.

The Grecians reuengement for aduoutrie.

The Hebrues stoned aduouterers.

Lawfull for the maried man emong the Hebrues, to kill the aduouterer.

defence for sauegarde of his life, as though he offended more hainouslie that tooke a mannes wife, then he did that tooke awaie a mans life. Assuredly Wedlocke must nedes seme to bee a moste holie thyng, consideryng, that beyng once broken, it must nedes be purged with mans bloud, the reuenger whereof, is not forced to abide, either Lawe or Judge, the whiche libertie is not graunted any, to vse vppon hym that hath killed, either his father or his mother. But what doo wee with these Lawes written? This is the law of nature, not written in the Tables of Brasse, but firmely printed in our myndes, the whiche Lawe, whosoeuer doeth not obeye, he is not worthie to bee called a manne, muche lesse shall he bee countped a Citezein. For, if to liue well (as the Stoikes wittely doe dispute) is to followe the course of nature, what thing is so agreeyng with nature, as Matrimonie? For there is nothing so naturall, not onely vnto mankinde, but also vnto all other liuyng creatures, as it is for euery one of them, to kepe their owne kinde from decaie, and through increase of issue, to make their whole kinde immortall. The whiche thyng (all men knowe) can neuer bee dooen without Wedlocke, and carnall copulation. It were a foule thyng that brute beastes should obeye the Lawe of nature, and menne like Giauntes should fight against Nature. Whose woorke, if we would narowly looke vpon, wee shall perceiue that in all thynges here vpon yearth, she would there should be a certaine spice of mariage. Matrimonie naturall.

I will not speake now of Trees, wherein (as *Plinie* moste certainly writeth) there is founde Mariage, with some manifest difference of bothe kyndes, that excepte the housebande Tree, doe leaue with his boughes, euen as though he should desire copulation vppon the women Trees, groyng rounde aboute hym: Thei would els altogether ware barraine. The same *Plinie* also doeth reporte, that certaine Auctheurs doe thinke there is bothe Male, and Female, in all thynges that the yearth yeldeth. Mariage emong trees.

I will not speake of precious Stones, wherein thesame Auctheur affirmeth, and yet not he onely neither, that there is bothe Male, and Female emong theim. And I praie you, hath not GOD so knitte all thinges together with certaine linckes, that one euer seemeth to haue neede of an other? What saie you of the Mariage emong precious stones.

Skie

Mariage betwen the firmament and the yearth.

Skie or Firmamente, that is euer stirryng with continuall mouyng? Doeth it not plaie the parte of a houſband, while it puffeth vp the yearth, the mother of all thinges, and maketh it fruictfull, with castyng seede (as a man would saie) vpon it. But I thinke it ouer tedious, to run ouer all thinges. And to what ende are theſe thynges spoken? Marie sir, because we might vnderstande, that through Mariage, all thinges are and doe still continue, and with out the same, all thynges doe decaie and come to naught. The old auncient and moſte wise Poets doe feigne (who had euer a deſire vnder the colour of fables, to set forthe preceptes of Philoſophie) that the Giauntes, whiche had Snakes feete, and were borne of the yearth, builded greate hilles that mounted vp to heauen, mindyng thereby to bee at vtter defiaunce with God, and all his Angels. And what meaneth this fable? Marie, it sheweth vnto vs, that certaine fierce and sauage men, suche as were vnknowen, could not abide wedlocke for any worldes good, and therefore thei were striken doune hedlong with lightnyng, that is to saie: they were vtterly destroyed, when thei sought to eschue that, whereby the weale and saufgarde of all mankinde, onely doeth consiſte.

The fable of Giauntes that fought against Nature.

Orpheus.

Now againe, the same Poetes doe declare that Orpheus the Muſitian and Minſtrell, did stirre and make softe with his pleasaunte melodie, the moſte harde rockes and stones. And what is their meanyng herein? Assuredly nothing els, but that a wise and well spoken man, did call backe harde harted men, suche as liued abrode like beaſtes from ope whoredome, and brought the to liue after the moſte holie lawes of Matrimonie. Thus we see plainly, that such a one as hath no minde of mariage, semeth to be no man but rather a stone, an enemy to nature, a rebell to God hymself, sekyng through his owne folly, his last ende and destruction.

The moſte wicked can not chose but allowe mariage.

Well, let vs goe on still (seyng wee are fallen into fables, that are not fables altogether (when the same Orpheus, in the middes of Hell, forced Pluto hymself and all the Deuilles there, to graūt him leaue, to cary awaie his wife Euridice what other thing doe we thinke, that the Poetes meant, but onely to set forte vnto vs, the loue in wedlocke, the whiche euen emong the Deuilles, was coumpted good and Godly.

And this also makes well for the purpoſe, that in olde tyme thei

thei made *Iupiter Gamelius*, the God of Mariage, and *Iuno Lucina*, Ladie midwife, to helpe suche women as laboured in childe bedde, beeyng fondlie deceiued, and superstitiously errying in naming of the Gods: and yet not missyng the truthe, in declaryng that Matrimonie is an holie thyng, and meete for the worthinesse thereof, that the Gods in heauen should haue care ouer it. Emõg diuers Countries and diuers men, there haue been diuers lawes and Customes vsed. Yet was there neuer any Countrey so sauage, none so farre from all humanitie, where the name of Wedlocke was not countped holie, and had in greate reuerence. This the *Thracian*, this the *Sarmate*, this the *Indian*, this the *Grecian*, this the Latine, yea, this the *Britaine* that dwelleth in the furthest parte of all the worlde, or if there be any that dwell beyonde them: Marie, because that thyng must needes be common to all, whiche the common mother vnto all, hath grafted in vs all, and hath so throughly graffed the same in vs, that not onely Stockdoues and Pigions, but also the moste wilde beastes, haue a Naturall feelyng of this thyng. For the Lions are gentle againste the Lioneſſe. The Tygers fight for safegarde of their younge whelpes. The Asse runnes through the hotte fire (whiche is made to keepe her awaie) for safegarde of her issue. And this thei call the Lawe of Nature, the whiche as it is of moste strengthe and force, so it spreadeth abroade moste largely. Therefore, as he is countped no good Gardener, that beeyng content with thynges presente, doeth diligently proine his olde Trees, and hath no regard either to ympe or graffe young settes: because the self same Orcharde (though it bee neuer so well trimmed) must needes decaie in tyme, and all the Trees dye within fewe yeres: so he is not to bee countped halfe a diligente Citizein, that beeyng contente with the present multitude, hath no regarde to encrease the number. Therefore, there is no one man, that euer hath been countped a worthie Citezein, who hath not laboured to gette children, and sought to bryng them vp in godlinesse.

All nations euer esteemed Mariage.

Emong the *Hebrues* and the *Persians*, he was moste commended that had moste wiues, as though the Countrey were moste beholdyng to hym, that encreaseth thesame with the greatest nomber of children. Doe you seeke to bee countped more ho-

The hebrues and Persians had a number of wiues

Abraham. lie then Abraham himself? Well, he should neuer haue been coũpted the Father of many Nations, and that through Gods furtherraunce, if he had forborne the companie of his wife. Doe you loke

Jacob. to be reckened more deuoute then Jacob? He doubted nothyng to raunsome Rachell from her greate bondage. Will you bee taken

Salomon. for wiser then Salomon? And yet I praie you, what a nomber of wiues kepte he in one house? Will you bee counpted more chaste

Socrates. then *Socrates*, who is reported to beare at home with *Zantippe*, that verie shrewe, and yet not so muche therefore (as he is wonte to telle, accordyng to his old maner) because he might learne pacience at home, but also because he might not seeme to come behinde with his duetie, in doyng the will of Nature. For he beyng a man, suche a one (as *Appollo* iudged hym by his Oracle to bee wise) did well perceiue that he was gotte for this cause, borne for this cause, and therefore bounde to yeelo so muche vnto Nature. For, if the old aunciente Philosophers haue saied well, if our Diuines haue proued the thyng not without reason, if it be vsed euery where, for a common Prouerbe, and almoste in euery mannes mouthe, that neither GOD, nor yet Nature, did euer make any thyng in vaine.

Why did he giue vs suche members, how happeneth we haue suche luste, and suche power to get issue, if the single life and none other, bee altogether praise worthie? If one should bestowe vpon you a very good thyng: as a Bowe, a Coate, or a Swoorde, all men would thinke you wer not worthy to haue the thing, if either you could not, or you would not vse it and occupie it. And wheras all other thynges, are ordeined vpon suche greate considerations, it is not like that Nature slepte, or forgat her selfe when she made this one thyng. And now here will some saie, that this foule and filthie desire and stirryng vnto luste, came neuer in by Nature, but through synne: for whose wordes I passe not a strawe, seyng their saiynges are as false as God is true. For I praie you was not Matrimonie instituted (whose woorke can not be doen without these members) before there was no synne. And againe, whence haue all other beastes their prouocations? Of Nature, or of synne? A manne would thinke thei had them of Nature. But shall I tell you at a worde, we make that filthie by our owne imagination,

gination, whiche of the owne Nature is good and godlie. Or els, if we will examine matters (not accordyng to the opinion of men, but waigh them as thei are of their owne Nature) how chanceth it, that we thinke it lesse filthie to eate, to chewe, to digest, to emptie the bodie, and to slepe, then it is to vse carnall Copulation, suche as is lawfull and permitted. Now sir (you maie saie) wee muste followe vertue, rather then Nature. A gentle dishe. As though any thing can be called vertue, that is contrary vnto Nature. Assuredly there is nothyng that can be perfectly got, either through labour, or through learnyng, if man grounde not his doynges altogether vpon Nature.

But you will liue an Apostles life, suche as some of them did that liued single: and exhorted other to the same kinde of life. Tush let them followe the Apostles that are Apostles in deede, whose office seyng it is bothe to teache, and bring vp the people in Gods doctrine: thei are not able to discharge their duties, bothe to their flocke, and to their wife and familie: although it is well knowne, that some of the Apostles had wiues. But bee it that Bishoppes liue single, or graunte wee them to haue no wiues. What, doe ye followe the profession of the Apostles, beeyng one that is farthest in life from their vocation: beyng bothe a Temporall manne, and one that liueth of your owne. Thei had this Pardon graunted thē to bee cleane voide from Mariage, to the ende thei might bee at leasure, to gette vnto Christ a more plentifull number of his children. Let this bee the order of Priestes and Monkes, who belike haue entred into Religion and rule of the *Essens* (suche as emong the Iewes lothed Mariage) but your callyng is an other waye. Naie, but (you will saie) Christ himselfe hath compted them blessed, whiche haue gelded them selues for the kyngdome of God. Sir, I am content to admit the authoritie, but thus I expounde the meanyng. Firste, I thinke that this doctrine of Christe, did cheefly belong vnto that tyme, when it behoued them cheefly to be voide of all cares and businesse of this worlde. Thei were faine to trauaile into all places, for the persecutours were euer readie to laye handes on them. But now the worlde is so, that a manne can finde no place, the vprightenesse of behauiour lesse staines then emong Maried folke.

Let the swarmes of Monkes and Nunnes, set forthe their order neuer so muche, let them boaste and bragge their bealies full, of their Ceremonies and Churche seruice, wherein thei cheefly passe all other: yet is Wedlocke (beeyng well and truely kepte) a moste holie kinde of life. Againe, would to God thei were gelded in very deede, what soeuer thei bee that colour their naughtie liuyng, with suche a ioyly name of geldyng, liuyng in muche more filthie luste, vnder the cloke and pretence of Chastitie. Neither cā I reporte for verie shame, into how filthie offences thei doe often fall, that will not vse that remeady, whiche Nature hath graunted vnto manne. And laste of all, where dooe you reade, that euer Christe commaunded any man to liue single, and yet he doeth openly forbid diuorcement.

Priestes mariage.

Then he dooeth not worste of all (in my iudgemente) for the Common weale of mankinde, that graunted libertie vnto Priestes: yea, and Monkes also (if neede bee) to marrie, and to take thē to their wiues, namely, seeyng there is suche an vnreasonable nūber euery where, emong whō I praie you, how many be there that liue chaste. How muche better were it, to turne their concubines into wiues, that whereas thei haue thē now to their greate shame, with an vnquiet conscience, thei might haue the other openly with good report, and get children, and also bryng them vp godlie, of whom thei them selues, not onely might not bee ashamed, but also might be coumpted honest menne for them. And I thinke the Bishoppes officers would haue procured this matter long agoe, if thei had not founde greate gaines by Priestes Lemmans, then thei were like to haue by Priestes wiues.

Virginitie.

But virginitie forsothe is an heauenly thyng, it is an Angels life. I aunswere, Wedlocke is a manly thyng, suche as is meete for man. And I talke now as man vnto man. I graunt you, that virginitie is a thyng praise worthy, but so farre I am content to speake in praise of it, if it bee not so praised, as though the iuste should altogether followe it: For if men commonly should begin to like it, what thyng could bee inuented more perilous to a common weale then virginitie. Now, be it that other deserue greate praise for their maidenhead, you notwithstandyng can not wante greate rebuke, seeyng it lieth in your handes to keepe that house from

from decaie, whereof you lineally descended, and to continue still the name of your auncesters, who deserue moste worthely to bee knowne for euer. And laste of all, he deserueth as muche praise as thei whiche kepe their maidenhod: that kepes hymself true to his wife, and marieth rather for encrease of childrē, then to satisfie his lust. For if a brother be commaunded to stirre vp seede to his brother that dieth without issue, will you suffer the hope of all your stocke to decaie, namely, seyng there is none other of your name and stocke but your self alone, to continue the posteritie. I knowe well enough, that the aunciente Fathers haue set forthe in greate volumes the praise of virginitie, emong whom *Hierome* doeth so take on, and praiseth it so muche aboue the starres, that he fell in maner to depraue Matrimonie, and therefore was required of godlie Bishops, to call backe his wordes that he had spoken. But lette vs beare with suche heate for that tyme sake, I would wishe now, that thei whiche exhort yong folke euery where, and without respecte (suche as yet knowe not them selfes) to liue a single life, and to professe virginitie: that thei would bestowe the same labour in settyng forthe the discription of chast and pure wedlocke. And yet those bodies that are in suche greate loue with virginitie, are well contented that menne should fight againste the *Turkes*, whiche in nomber are infinitely greater then we are. And now if these men thinke right in this behalfe, it must needes be thought right, good, and godlie, to labour earnestly for children gettyng, and to substitute youth from tyme to time for the maintenance of warre. Excepte peraduenture thei thinke that Sonnes, Bisles, Pikes, and Nauies should be prouided for battaill, and that men stande in no steede at all with them. Thei also allowe it well, that we should kill miscreante and Heathen Parentes, that the rather their children not knowyng of it, might bee Baptized and made Christians. Now if this bee right and lawfull, how muche more gentlenesse were it to haue children baptized, beyng borne in lawfull mariage. There is no Nation so fauage, nor yet so hard harted within the whole worlde, but the same abhorreth murderyng of Infantes, and newe borne babes. Rynges also and head rulers, doe likewise ponishe moste streightly, all suche as seeke meanes to be deliuered before their tyme, or vse Phisicke to waxe barren,

Hieromes praise vpon Virginitie.

and neuer to beare Children. What is the reason? Marie the
compte small difference betwixte hym that killeth the childe, as
sone as it beginneth to quicken: and the other that seketh all mea-
nes possible, neuer to haue any childe at all. The self same thyng,
that either withereth and dryeth awaie in the bodie, or els putri-
fieth within thee, and so hurteth greately thy health, yea, that self
same whiche falleth from thee in thy slepe, would haue been a
Hebrues. manne, if thou thy self hadest not been a manne. The *Hebrues* ab-
horre that manne, and wishe hym Gods cruse, that (beyng com-
maunded to Marrie with the wife of his deade brother) did caste
his seede vpon the grounde, least any issue should bee had, and he
was euer thought vnworthy to liue here vpon yearth, that would
not suffer that Childe to liue, whiche was quicke in the mothers
wombe. But I praie you, how little doe thei swarue from this
offence, whilste thei liue them selues to liue barren all the daies of
their life? Doe thei not seme to kill as many men, as were like to
haue been borne, if thei had bestowed their endeuours to haue got
children? Now I praie you, if a manne had lande that were verie
fatte and fertile, and suffered the same for lacke of manneryng, for
euer to waxe barren, should he not, or were he not worthie to bee
punished by the Lawes, considerynge it is for the commonweales
behoue, that euery manne should well and truely husbande his
owne. If that manne be punished, who little heedeth the mainte-
nance of his Tillage, the whiche although it be neuer so well ma-
nered, yet it yeldeth nothyng els but Wheate, Barley, Beanes,
and Peason: what punishemente is he worthie to suffer, that refu-
seth to Plowe that lande whiche beyng Tilled, yeldeth children.
And for plowyng lande it is nothyng els, but painfull toilyng frō
time to time: but in gettyng children there is pleasure, whiche be-
yng ordeined as a ready reward for paines takyng, asketh a short
trauaill for all the Tillage. Therefore if the worthy of Nature,
if honestie, if vertue, if inward zeale, if godlinesse, if duetie maie
moue you, why can you not abide that whiche God hath ordeined,
Nature hath established, reason doeth counsaill, Gods worde and
mannes woorde doe commende, all Lawes doe commaunde, the
consent of all Nations doeth allowe, whereunto also the examples
of all good menne doeth exhorte you. That if euery honest manne

should

should desire many thinges that are moste painfull for none other cause, but onely for that thei are honest, no doubt but Matrimonie ought aboue all other, moste of all to be desired, as the whiche we maie doubt, whether it haue more honestie in it, or bryng more delite and pleasure with it. For what can be more pleasaunt then to liue with her, with whom not onely you shalbe ioyned in fellowship of faithfulnesse, and moste hartie good will, but also you shal be coupled together moste assuredly, with the companie of bothe your bodies; If we count that greate pleasure, whiche we receiue of the good will of our freendes and acquaintance, how pleasant a thing is it aboue all other to haue one, with whō you maie breake the botome of your harte, with whom you maie talke as freely as with your self, into whose trust you maie safly commit your self, suche a one as thinketh all your gooddes to bee her charge. Now what an heauenly blisse (trowe you) is the companie of man and wife together, seyng that in all the worlde there can nothyng bee foūd, either of greater weight & worthines, or els of more strēgth and assurance. For with frendes we ioyne onely with thē in good will, and faithfulnes of minde, but with a wife we are matched together, bothe in hart and minde, in bodie and soule, sealed together with the bond and league of an holy sacrament, and parting al the goodes we haue indifferently betwixt vs. Again when other are matched together in freendship, doe we not see what dissemblyng thei vse, what falshod thei practise, and what deceiptful partes thei plaie? Yea, euen those whō we thinke to be moste assured frendes as swallowes flie awaie when Sommer is past, so thei hide their heddes when fortune ginnes to faile. And oft times whē we get a newe frend, we straight forsake our old. We heare tell of very few that haue continued frendes euen till their last ende. Wheras the faithfulnesse of a wife is not stained with deceipt, nor dusked with any dissembling, nor yet parted with any change of the world, but disseuered at last by death onely, no not by death neither. She forsakes and settes light by father and mother, sister and brother for your sake, and for your loue onely. She onely passeth vpō you, she puttes her trust in you, & leaneth wholy vpon you, yea, she desires to die with you. Haue you any worldly substance? You haue one ẏ will maintain it, you haue one ẏ will encrease it. Haue you none?

You haue a wife that will gett it. If you liue in prosperitie, your ioye is doubled: if the worlde goe not with you, you haue a wife to put you in good comfort, to be at your commaundement, and ready to serue your desire, and to wishe that suche euill as hath happened vnto you, might chaunce vnto her self. And doe you thinke that any pleasure in all the worlde is able to be cõpared, with suche a goodly fellowship and familier liuyng together? If you keepe home, your wife is at hande to kepe your cõpanie, the rather that you might fele no wearinesse of liuyng all alone, if you ride forth, you haue a wife to bid you farewell with a kisse, longyng much for you beeyng from home, and glad to bid you welcome home at your next returne. A swete mate in your youth, a thankfull comfort in your age. Euery societie of companiyng together is delitfull, and wished for by Nature of all men, for almuche as Nature hath ordeined vs to be sociable, frendly, & louyng together. Now how can this fellowship of man and wife be otherwise then moste pleasant, where all thinges are common together betwixte them bothe. Now I thinke he is moste worthy to bee despised aboue all other, that is borne as a man would saie for hymself, that liueth to hymself, that seketh for hymself, that spareth for hymself, maketh cost onely vppon hymself, that loueth no man, and no man loueth hym. Would not a man thinke that suche a monster, were meete to bee caste out of all mennes companie (with *Tymon* that careth for no man) into the middest of the sea. Neither doe I here bring vnto you these pleasures of the bodie, the whiche whereas Nature hath made to be moste pleasant vnto man, yet these great witted men rather hide them and dissemble them (I cãnot tell how) then vtterly contempne them. And yet what is he that is so sower of witte, and so drouping of hearte (I will not saie) blockhedded, or insensate, that is not moued with suche pleasure, namely, if he maie haue his desire without offence, either of God or man, and without hinderance of his estimatiõ. Truely I would take suche a one not to be a man, but rather to be a stone. Although this pleasure of the bodie, is the least part of all those good thinges that are in wedlocke. But bee it that you passe not vpon this pleasure, and thinke it vnworthie for manne to vse it, although in deede we deserue not the name of man without it, but compte it emong the least

Tymon a deadly hater of all companie.

leaſt and vttermoſte profites that Wedlocke hath: now I praie you, what can bee more hartely deſired then chaſte loue, what can bee more holie, what can bee more honeſte? And emong all theſe pleaſures, you get vnto you a ioly ſort of kinſfolke, in whom you maie take muche delite. You haue other parentes, other brethren ſiſterne, and nephewes. Nature in deede can giue you but one father, and one Mother: by Mariage you get vnto you an other Father, and an other Mother, who can not chuſe but loue you with all their hartes, as the whiche haue putte into your handes, their owne fleſhe and blood. Now againe, what a ioye ſhall this be vnto you, when your moſte faire wife ſhall make you a Father, in bryngyng forthe a faire Childe vnto you, where you ſhall haue a prettie little boye, runnyng vp and doune your houſe, ſuche a one as ſhall expreſſe your looke, and your wiues looke, ſuche a one as ſhall call you dad with his ſweete liſpyng woordes. Now laſte of all, when you are thus linked in Loue, theſame ſhalbee ſo faſtened and bounde together, as though it were with an Adamant ſtone, that Death it ſelf can neuer be able to vndoe it. Thrife happie are thei (by *Horace*) yea, more then thrife happie are thei, whom theſe ſure bandes doe holde: neither though thei are by euill reporters full ofte ſet a ſonder, ſhall Loue be vnloſed betwixt them twoo, till Death them bothe depart. You haue them that ſhall comfort you in your latter daies, that ſhall cloſe vp your eyes when God ſhall call you, that ſhall burie you, and fulfill all thynges belongyng to your Funerall, by whom you ſhall ſeme to bee newe borne. For ſo long as thei ſhall liue, you ſhall neuer bee thought deade your ſelf. The goodes and landes that you haue gotte, goe not to other heires then to your owne. So that vnto ſuche as haue fulfilled all thinges, that belong vnto mannes life, Death it ſelf cannot ſeme better. Old age cometh vpon vs all, will wee, or nill wee, and this waie Nature prouided for vs, that we ſhould ware yong again in our children and nephewes. For what man can be greeued that he is old, when he ſeeth his owne countenance, whiche he had beyng a child, to appere liuely in his ſonne? Death is ordeined for all mã kinde, and yet by this meanes onely, Nature by her prouidence, mindeth vnto vs a certaine immortalitie, while ſhe entreaſeth one thing vpõ an other, euen as a yong graffe buddeth out, when the

old Tree cut doune. Neither can he seme to dye, that when God calleth him, leaueth a yong Child behind him. But I know well enough, what you saie to your self all this while of my long talke. Mariage is an happie thyng, if all thynges hap well, what if one haue a curst wife? What if she be light? What if his children bee vngracious? Thus I see you remember all suche menne, as by Mariage haue been vndoen. Well, goe to it, tell as many as you can, and spare not: you shall finde all these were the faultes of the persones, and not the faultes of Marriage. For beleeue me, none haue euill wiues, but suche as are euill men. And as for you Sir, you maie chuse a good wife if you liste. But what if she bee crooked and marde altogether, for lacke of good orderyng. A good honeste wife, maie bee made an euill woman by a naughtie housebande, and an euill wife hath been made a good woman, by an honeste manne. Wee crie out of wiues vntruely, and accuse them without cause. There is no manne (if you will beleue me) that euer had an euill wife, but through his owne deafulte. Now again an honest Father, bryngeth forthe honest children, like vnto hym self. Although euen these Children, how so euer thei are borne, commonlie become suche menne, as their education and bryngyng vp is. And as for ielousie, you shall not neede to feare that faulte at all. For none bee troubled with suche a disease, but those onely that are foolishe Louers. Chaste, godlie, and lawfull Loue, neuer knewe what ielousie meante. What meane you to call too your mynde, and remember suche sore Tragedies, and dolefull dealynges, as haue been betwixte manne and wife. Suche a woman beeyng naught of her bodie, hath caused her housebande to lose his hedde: an other haue poisoned her good manne, the thirde with her churlishe dealyng (which her houseband could not beare) hath been his vtter vndoyng, and brought hym to his ende. But I praie you sir, why doe you not thinke vpon *Cornelia*, wife vnto *Tiberius Graccus*? Why dooe ye not mynde that moste worthie wife, or that moste vnworthie man *Alcestes*? Why remember ye not *Iulia Pompeies* wife, or *Porcia Brutus* wife? And why not *Artemesia*, a woman moste worthie euer to bee remembred? Why not *Hipsicratea* wife vnto *Mithridates* kyng of *Pontus*? Why doe you not call to remembrance, the gentle nature of *Tertia*

Euill wiues, happen to euill mē onely

Ielousie vnknowne to wisemen.

Cornelia.

Alcestes wife Iulia. Porcia. Artemesia. Tertia Iemelia.

tia Aemilia? Why doe ye not consider the faithfulnesse of *Turia*? Why cometh not *Lucrecia* and *Lentula* to your remembrance? And why not *Arria*? why not a thousande other, whose chastitie of life, and faithfulnesse towardes their housebandes, could not be changed, no not by death. A good woman (you will saie) is a rare birde, and hard to be founde in all the worlde. Well then sir, imagine your self worthie to haue a rare wife, suche as fewe menne haue. A good woman (saieth the wiseman) is a good portion. Bee you bold to hope for suche a one, as is worthie your maners. The cheefest poinct standeth in this, what maner of woman you chuse, how you vse her, how you order your self towardes her. But libertie (you will saie) is muche more pleasaunte: for who soeuer is maried, weareth fetters vpon his legges, or rather carieth a clog the whiche he can neuer shake of, till Death parte their yoke. To this I answere, I cānot se what pleasure a man shall haue, to liue alone. For if libertie be delitfull, I would thinke you should get a mate vnto you, with whom you should part stakes, and make her priuie of all your ioyes. Neither can I see any thing more free, then is the seruitude of these twoo, where the one is so muche beholding and bounde to the other, that neither of them bothe would be lose though thei might. You are bound vnto him, whom you receiue into your freendshipe: but in Mariage neither partie findeth fault, that their libertie is taken awaie frō them. Yet once againe you are sore afraied, least when your children are taken awaie by Death, you fall to mourning for want of issue. Well sir, if you feare lack of issue, you must marie a wife for the self same purpose the whiche onely shall bee a meane, that you shall not want issue. But what doe you searche so diligently, naie so carefullie, all the incommodities of Patrimonie, as though single life had neuer any incommoditie ioyned with it at all. As though there were any kinde of life in all the worlde, that is not subiecte to all euilles that maie happen. He must needes goe out of this worlde, that lookes to liue without feelyng of any greefe. And in cōparison of that life, whiche the sainctes of God shall haue in heauen, this life of man is to bee countyed a Death, and not a life. But if you consider thynges within the compasse of mankinde, there is nothyng either more safe, more quiet, more pleasaunte, more to bee desired,

Turia. Lucrecia. Lentula. Arria.

Prouer. x.

or more happie then is the Maried maines life. How many doe you see, that hauyng once felt the swetenesse of Wedlocke, doeth not desire eftsones to enter into the same? My freende *Mauricius*, whom you knowe to be a verie wiseman, did not he the verie Monethe after his wife died (whom he loued dearely) gette hym straight a newe wife? Not that he was impacient of his lust, and could not forbeare any longer, but he saied plainly, it was no life for hym to bee without a wife, whiche should bee with hym as his yokefellowe, and companion in all thynges. And is not this the fowerth wife that our freende *Ionius* hath Maried? And yet he so loued the other when thei were on liue, that none was able to cõfort hym in his heauinesse: And now he hastened so muche (when one was dedde) to fill vp and supplie the voide roome of his chamber, as though he had loued the other verie little. But what do we talke so muche of the honestie and pleasure herein, seyng that not onely profite dooeth aduise vs, but also neede doeth earnestly force vs to seeke Mariage. Lette it bee forbidde that man and woman shall not come together, and within fewe yeres all mankind must needes decaie for euer. When *Xerxes* Kyng of the *Persians*, beholde from an high place that greate armie of his, suche as almost was incredible: Some saied he could not forbeare weepyng, considryng of so many thousandes, there was not one like to bee a liue within seuentie yeres after. Now, why should not wee consider the same of all mankinde, whiche he ment onely of his armie. Take awaie Mariage, and how many shall remaine after a hundred yeres, of so many Realmes, Countries, Kyngdoomes, Cities, and all other assemblies that be of men throughout the whole worlde? Do now, praise we a Gods name, the single life aboue the nocke, the whiche is like for euer to vndoo all mankinde. What plague, what infection can either Heauen or Helle, sende more harmefull vnto mankinde? What greater euill is to be feared by any flood? What could bee looked for more sorowfull, although the flame of *Phaeton* should sette the worlde on fire againe? And yet by suche sore tẽpestes, many thynges haue been saued harmelesse, but by the single life of man, there can be nothyng left at all. Wee se what a sort of diseases, what diuersitie of misshappes doe night and daie lie in waite, to lessen the small nomber of mankind.

Necessitie enforceth Mariage. Xerxes.

Dow

how many doeth the Plague destroye, how many doe the Seas swallowe, how many doeth Battaile snatche vp? For I will not speake of the daiely dying that is in all places. Death taketh her flight euery where rounde about, she runneth ouer them, she catcheth them vp, she hasteneth as muche as she can possible to destroye all mankinde: and now doe we so highly commende single life, and eschue Mariage? Except happely wee like the profession of the *Essens* (of whom *Iosephus* speaketh, that thei will neither haue wife nor seruauntes) or the *Dolopolitans*, called otherwise the rascalles and slaues of Cities, the whiche companie of them is alwaie encreased, and continued by a sort of vagabonde peasantes that contiue, and be from tyme to tyme still together. Do we looke that some *Iupiter* should giue vs that same gift, the whiche he is reported to haue giuen vnto Bees, that he should haue issue without procreation, and gather with our mouthes out of the flowers, the seede of our posteritie? Or els doe wee desire, that like as the Poetes feine *Minerua*, to be borne out of *Iupiters* hed: in like sort there should childrē leape out of our heddes? Or last of al doe wee looke, according as the old Fables haue been, that men should be borne out of the yearth, out of rockes, out of stockes, stones, and old trees. Many thinges breede out of the earth, without mānes labour at all. Yong shrubbes growe and shoute vp, vnder the shadow of their graundsire Trees. But Nature would haue manne to vse his owne waie of encreasyng issue, that through labour of bothe the housebande and wife, mankinde might still bee kept from destruction. But I promise you, if all men tooke after you, and still forbeare to marrie: I can not see but that these thinges whiche you wonder at, and esteeme so muche, could not haue been at all. Doe you yet esteeme this single life so greatly? Or doe we praise so muche virginitie aboue all other? Why manne, there will bee neither single men, nor virgines a liue, if menne leaue to marrie, and mynde not procreation. Why doe you then preferre virginitie so muche, why set it you so hye, if it bee the vndoyng of all the whole worlde? It hath been muche commended, but it was for that tyme, and in fewe. GOD would haue menne to see, as though it were a paterne, or rather a picture of the heauenly habitation, where neither any manne shalbe maried, nor yet any shall giue

Essens hated Mariage. *Iosephus 18 Cap. lib. 21.*

giue theirs to mariage. But when thinges be giuen for example, a fewe maie suffice, a nomber were to no purpose. For euen as all groundes, though thei be very fruitfull, are not therefore tourned into tillage for mannes vse and commoditie, but part lieth fallow and is neuer manured, part is kept and cherished to like the eye, and for mannes pleasure: And yet in all this plentie of thynges, where so greate store of Lande is, Nature suffereth very little to waxe barren: but now if none should be tilled, and Plowmen wer to plaie, who seeth not but that we should all starue, and bee faine shortly to eate Acornes: Euen so it is praise worthy, if a fewe liue single, but if all should seeke to liue single, so many as bee in this world, it were too greate an inconuenience. Now again, be it that other deserue worthie praise that seke to liue a virgines life, yet it must nedes be a greate fault in you. Other shalbe thought to seke a pureneſſe of life, you shalbe countped a *Parricide*, or a murtherer of your stocke: that whereas you maie by honest Mariage, encreale your posteritie: you suffer it to decay for euer through your wilfull single life. A man maie hauyng an house full of Children, commende one to God to liue a virgin all his life. The plowman offereth to God the tenthes of his owne, and not his whole croppe all together: but you sir, must remember that there is none left aliue of all your stocke, but your self alone. And now it mattereth nothyng whether you kill, or refuse to saue that creature, whiche you onely might saue and that with ease. But you will followe the example of your sister, and liue single as she doeth. And yet me thinketh you should cheefly, euen for this selfsame cause bee afraied to liue single. For where as there was hope of issue heretofore in you bothe, now you see there is no hope left but in you onely. Bee it that your sister maie bee borne withall, because she is a woman, and because of her yeres: for she beyng but a girle, and ouercome with sorowe for losse of her Mother, tooke the wrong waie, she cast her self downe heedlong and became a Nunne, at the earnest sute either of foolishe women, or els of doltishe Monkes: but you beyng muche elder, muste euermore remember that you are a man. She would needes dye together with her auncesters, you muste labour that your auncesters shall not dye at all. Your Sister would not dooe her duetie, but shranke awaie: thinke you

now

now with your ſelf, that you haue twoo offices to diſcharge. The daughters of Loth neuer ſtucke at the matter, to haue adoe with their dronken Father, thinkyng it better with wicked Whoredome and Inceſte, to prouide for their poſteritie, then to ſuffer their ſtocke to dye for euer. And will not you with honeſt, godlie, and chaſte Mariage (whiche ſhalbee without trouble, and tourne to your greate pleaſure) haue a regarde to your poſteritie, moſte like els for euer to decaye? Therefore, lett them on Gods name, followe the purpoſe of chaſte *Hippolitus*, let them liue a ſingle life that either can be maried men, and yet can get no children, or els ſuche whoſe ſtocke maie bee continued, by meanes of other their kinſfolke, or at the leaſt whoſe kindered is ſuche, that it were better for the common weale thei were all ded, then any of that name ſhould be a liue, or els ſuche menne as the euerliuyng God of his moſte eſpeciall goodneſſe hath choſen out of the whole worlde, to execute ſome heauenly office, wherof there is a maruelous ſmall nomber. But where as you, accordyng to the reporte of a Phiſition, that neither is vnlearned, nor yet is any liar, are like to haue many children hereafter, ſeyng alſo you are a man of greate landes and reuenues by your anceſters, the houſe whereof you came beeyng bothe right honourable, and right auncient, ſo that you could not ſuffer it to periſhe, without your greate offence, and greate harme to the common weale: Againe, ſeyng you are of luſtie yeres, and verie comely for your perſonage, and maie haue a maide to your wife, ſuche a one as none of your Countrey hath knowne any, to be more abſolute for all thynges, commyng of as noble a houſe as any of them, a chaſte one, a ſober one, a godlie one, an excellent faire one, hauyng with her a wonderfull dowrie ſeyng alſo your freendes deſire you, your kinſfolke weepe to win you, your Couſins and Alliaunce are earneſt in hande with you, your Countrey calles and cries vpon you: the aſhes of your anceſters from their graues make hartie ſute vnto you, doe you yet holde backe, doe you ſtill minde a ſingle life? If a thyng were aſked you that were not halfe honeſte, or the whiche you could not well compaſſe, yet at the inſtance of your freendes, or for the loue of your kinſfolke, you would be ouercome, and yeld to their requeſtes: then how muche more reaſonable were it, that the weepyng

Daughters of Loth.

The concluſion.

teares

teares of your frendes, the hartie good will of your countrey, the deare loue of your elders might win that thing at your hādes, vnto the whiche bothe the lawe of God & man doeth exhort you, Nature pricketh you forwarde, reason leadeth you, honestie allureth you, so many commodities call you, and last of all, necessitie it self doeth constraine you. But here an ende of all reasonyng. For I trust you haue now, and a good while agoe chaunged your mynde through myne aduise, and taken your self to better counsaile.

¶ *Of exhortation.*

Exhortyng.

THE places of exhortyng, and dehortyng are the same whiche wee vse in perswadyng and dissuadyng, sauyng that he whiche vseth persuasiō, seketh by argumentes to compasse his deuise: he that labors to exhort, doeth stirre affection.

Erasmus sheweth these to be moste especiall places, that doe pertaine vnto exhortations.

Prayse or commendation.
Expectation of all men.
Hope of victorie.
Hope of renowme.
Feare of shame.
Greatnesse of reward.
Rehearsall of examples in all ages, and especially of thynges lately doen.

Praisyng a deede.

RAisyng is either of the man, or of some deede doen. We shall exhort men to doe the thyng, if we shewe them that it is a worthie attempte, a godly enterprise, and suche as fewe men hetherto haue aduentured. In praisyng a man, wee shall exhort hym to goe forward, considerynge it agreeth with his wonted manhode, and that hetherto he hath not slacked to hazard boldly vpō the best and worthiest deedes, requiryng him to make this ende answerable to his moste worthie beginnynges, that he maie ende with honor, whiche hath so long continued in suche renowme. For it were a foule shame to lose honour through follie, whiche hath been got through vertue, and to appere moste slacke in keepyng it, then he semed carefull at the first to attaine it.

Praisyng a man, the rather to encourage him.

Againe, whose name is renowmed, his doynges from tyme

to

to tyme, will be thought more wonderfull, and greater promises will men make vnto them selues of suche memes aduentures, in any common affaires, then of others whose vertues are not yet knowen. A notable master of fence, is marueilous to beholde, and men looke earnestly to see him do some wonder: how much more will thei looke, when thei heare tell, that a noble Capitain and an aduenturous prince, shall take vpon him the defence and sauegard of his countrey, against the ragyng attemptes of his enemies: Therfore a noble mã can not but go forward with moste earnest will, seyng all men haue such hope in him, and coumpt hym to be their onely comfort, their fortresse and defence. And the rather to encourage suche right worthy, we maie put them in good hope to compasse their attempt, if we shewe them that God is an assured guide vnto al those, that in an honest quarell aduẽture thẽ selues, and shew their mãly stomack. Sathã himselfe the greatest aduersary that man hath, yeldeth like a captiue when god doth take our part, much sooner shall al other be subiect vnto him, and crie *Peccaui*, for if God be with hym, what mattereth who be against hym?

Expectation of all men.

Hope of victorie.

Now when victorie is got, what honour doth ensue? Here openeth a large field to speake of renoume, fame and endles honour. In all ages the worthiest men, haue alwaies aduẽtured their carcases, for the sauegard of their countrey, thinkyng it better to dye with honor, then to liue with shame. Again, the ruin of our realme should put vs to more shame, then the losse of our bodies should tourne vs to smart. For our honestly being stained, ỹ paine is endles, but our bodies being gored, either the woũd maie some be healed, or els our paine being sone ended, the glory endureth for euer.

Fame followeth worthy feates.

Shame followeth fearfulnesse, when manhode is thought nedefull.

Lastly, he that helpeth the needy, defendeth his poore neighbours, and in the fauour of his countrey bestoweth his life: will not God besides all these, place hym where he shall liue for euer, especially, seyng he hath doen all these enterprises in faithe, and for Christes sake?

Heauen, the rewarde of hault Captaines.

Now in all ages, to recken such as haue been right Souerain and victorious, what name got the worthie *Scipio*, that withstode the rage of *Hannibal*? What byute hath *Cæsar*, for his moste worthie conquestes? What triumph of glorie doeth sounde in all memes eares, vpon the onely namyng of mightie *Alexander*,

and his father king Philip: And now to come home, what herte can expresse the renoumed Henrie the fifte Kyng of Englande of that name, after the Conquest: What witte can set out the wonderfull wisedome of Henrie the seuenth, and his greate foresight to espie mischiefe like to ensue, and his politique deuises to escape daungers, to subdue Rebelles and to maintaine peace:

¶ *Of mouyng pitie, and stirryng men to shewe mercie.*

Mouyng of pitie.

LIkewise, we maie exhorte men to take pitie of the fatherlesse, the widowe, and the oppressed innocent, if we set before their eyes, the lamentable afflictions, the tyrannous wrōges, and the miserable calamities, which these poore wretches doe sustaine. For if flesshe and blood move vs to loue our children, our wiues, and our kinsfolke: muche more should the spirite of God, and Christes goodnesse towardes mā stirre vs to loue our neighbours moste entierly. These exhortations the preachers of God maie moste aptly vse, whē thei open his Gospel to the people, and haue iuste cause to speak of such matters.

¶ *Of Commendyng.*

The maner of commendyng.

IN commendyng a man, we vse this report of his wit, honestie, faithfull seruice, painfull labour, and careful nature to doe his maisters will, or any suche like, as in the Epistles of *Tullie*, there are examples infinite.

¶ *Of Comfortyng.*

The maner of cōfortyng.

NOw after all these, the weake would be comforted, and the sorowfull would be cherished, that their grief might be asswaged, and the passions of man brought vnder the obedience of reason. The vse hereof is greate aswell in priuate troubles, as in common miseries. As in losse of goods, in lacke of frendes, in sickenesse, in darth, and in death. In all whiche losses, the wise vse so to comforte the weake, that they giue them not iuste cause euen at the firste, to refuse all comforte. And therefore, thei vse twoo waies of cherishyng the troubled mindes. The one is, when we shewe that in some causes, and for some causes, either thei should not lament at all, or els be sorie very little: the other is when we graunt that thei haue iuste cause to be sad, and therefore we are sadde also in their behaike, and would

Comfortyng twoo waies vsed.

remedy

remedy the matter if it could be, and thus enterynge into felowship of sorowe, we seeke by a little and little to mitigate their griefe. For all extreme heauinesse, and vehement sorowes can not abide cõfort, but rather seke a mourner that would take part with thē.

Therefore, muche warinesse ought to bee vsed, when we happen vpon suche excedyng sorowfulnesse, least we rather purchase hatred, then asswage grief.

Those harmes should be moderatly borne, which must nedes happen to euery one, that haue chaunced to any one. As Death, whiche spareth none, neither Kyng nor, *Cæsar* neither poore nor riche. Therefore, to be impacient for the losse of our frendes, is to fall out with God, because he made vs men and not Angells. But the Godly (I trust) will alwaies remit the order of thinges, to the will of GOD, and force their passions to obeie necessitie. When God lately visited this Realme with the Sweatyng disease, and receiued the two worthie gentlemen, Henry Duke of Suffolke, and his brother Lorde Charles: I seyng my Ladies grace, their mother, takyng their death moste greuously, could not otherwise for the duetie whiche I then did, and euer shall owe vnto her, but comforte her in that her heauinesse, the whiche vndoubtedly at that tyme muche weakened her bodie. And because it maie serue for an example of comforte, I haue been bolde to set it forthe, as it foloweth hereafter. Sweatyng disease.

¶ An example of comforte.

THough mine enterprise maie be thought foolishe, and my doinges very slender, in busyng my brain to teach the experte, to giue counsaile to other, when I lacke it my self, and whereas more neede were for me, to be taught of other, to take vpon me to teache my betters, yet duetie bindyng me to doe my beste, and emong a nomber, though I can doe leaste, yet good will settyng me forthe with the foremest: I can not chuse but write what I am hable, and speake what I can possible, for the better counfortyng of your grace, in this your greate heauinesse, and sore visitation sent from GOD, as a warnyng to vs all. The Philitian then deserueth moste thankes, when he practiseth his knowledge in tyme of necessitie, and then trauaileth moste painfully, when he feeleth his patiente to bee

in moste daunger. The Soldiour at that tyme, and at no tyme so mutche, is thought moste trustie when he sheweth at a neede his faithfull harte, and in tyme of extreme daunger doeth vse, and bestow his moste earnest labour. In the wealth of this worlde, what valiaunt manne can want assistence? What mightie Prince can misse any helpe to compasse his desire? Who lacketh men, that lacketh no money. But when God striketh the mightie with his strong hande, and displaceth those that were highly placed: what one man doeth once looke backe, for the better easemente of his deare brother, and Godly comfortyng his euen christen, in the chief of all his sorrowe. All menne commonly more reioyce in the Sunne rising, then thei doe in the Sunne settyng. The hope of lucre and expectation of priuate gaine, maketh many one to beare out a countenaunce of fauour, whose harte is inwardly fretted with dedly rancour. But suche frendes euen as prosperitie doeth get them, so aduersitie doeth trie them. God is the searcher of euery mans thought, vnto whose iudgemente, I referre the assuraunce of my good will.

And though I can dose little, and therefore deserue as little thanke, as I looke for praise (whiche is none at all) yet will I endeuour earnestly at all tymes, aswell for mine owne discharge, to declare my duetie, as at this present to saie somewhat, for the better easement of your grace in this your heuinesse. The passions of the minde haue diuers effectes, and therefore worke straungely, accordyng to their properties. For, like as ioye comforteth the harte, nourisheth blood, and quickeneth the whole bodie: So heuinesse and care hinder digestion, ingender euill humours, waste the principall partes, and with tyme consume the whole bodie. For the better knowlege thereof, and for a liuely sight of thesame, wee neede not to seeke farre for any example, but euen to come straight vnto your grace, whose bodie as I vnderstand credible, and partly see my self, is sore appaired within shorte tyme, your mynde so troubled, and your hart so heauie, that you hate in a maner all light, you like not the sight of any thyng, that might bee your comforte, but altogether stricken in a dumpe, you seeke to be solitarie, detestyng all ioye, and delityng in sorrowe, wishe with harte (if it were Goddes will) to make your laste ende. In which

Passions worke diuersly.

your

pour heauineſſe, as I deſire to bee a comfortour of your grace, ſo I can not blame your naturall ſorowe, if that nowe after declaration of the ſame, you would moderate all your grief hereafter, and call backe your penſifenes, to the preſcripte order of reaſon.

And firſte, for the better remedie of euery diſeaſe, and troubled paſſion, it is beſte to knowe the principall cauſe and chief occaſion of the ſame. Your grace had twoo ſonnes, how noble, how wittie, howe learned, and howe Godlie, many thouſandes better knowe it, then any one is able well to tell it. GOD at his pleaſure hath taken theim bothe to his mercie, and placed theim with him, whiche were ſurely ouer good to tarie here with vs. They bothe died as your grace knoweth very young, whiche by courſe of Nature and by mannes eſtimation, might haue liued muche longer. They bothe were together in one houſe, lodged in two ſeuerall Chambers, and almoſte at one tyme bothe ſickened, and bothe departed. They died both Dukes, both well learned, bothe wiſe, and bothe right Godly. They bothe gaue ſtraunge tokens of death to come. The elder ſittyng at Supper and very merie, ſaied ſodainly to that right honeſt Matrone, and Godly Gentlewoman, that moſte faithfull and long aſſured ſeruaunte of yours, whoſe life GOD graunt long to continue: O Lorde, where ſhall we ſuppe to morowe at night, wherevpon ſhe being troubled, and yet ſaiyng comfortablie, I truſt my Lorde, either here, or els where at ſome of your frendes houſes: Naie (quhe) we ſhall neuer Suppe together againe in this worlde bee you well aſſured, and with that, ſeyng the Gentlewoman diſcomforted, tourned it vnto mirthe, and paſſed the reſte of his Supper with mutche ioye, and the ſame night after twelue of the Clocke, beyng the fowertene of Julie ſickened, and ſo was taken the next morowyng, about ſeuen of the clocke to the mercie of God, in the yeare of our Lord, a thouſande fiue hundred fiftie and one. When the eldeſte was gone, the younger would not tarie, but tolde before (hauyng no knowledge thereof by any bodie liuyng) of his brothers death, to the greate wonderyng of all that were there, declaryng what it was to loſe ſo deare a frende, but comfortyng hymſelf in that paſſion ſaied: well, my brother is gone, but it maketh no matter for I will goe ſtraight after hym, and ſo did within the ſpace of halfe

an howre, as your grace can beste tell whiche was there present. Now I rene we these woordes to your graces knowledge, that you might the more sledfastly consider their tyme, to bee then appointed of GOD, to forsake this euill worlde, and to liue with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kyngdome of heauen. But wherefore did GOD take twoo suche awaie, and at that tyme? Surely, to tell the principall cause, wee maie by all likenesse affirme, that thei were taken awaie frō vs for our wretched sinnes, and moste vile naughtinesse of life, that thereby we beeyng warned, might be as ready for God, as thei now presently were, and amende our liues in tyme, whom God will call, what tyme wee knowe not. Then as I can see, we haue small cause to lament the lacke of them, which are in such blessed state, but rather to amende our owne liuyng, to forthynke vs of our offences, and to wishe of God to purge our hartes from all filthines and vngodly dealing, that we maie be (as thei now be) blessed with God for euer. Notwithstandyng, the workes of God are vnsearcheable, without the compasse of mannes braine, precisely to comprehende the verie cause, sauyng that this perswasion ought surely to be grounded in vs, euermore to thynke that God is offended with sinne, and that he punisheth offences, to the thirde and fowerth generation, of all them that breake his commaundementes, beyng iuste in all his workes, and doyng all thinges for the beste. And therefore, when God plagueth in suche sorte, I would wishe that our faith might alwaies bee staied, vpon the admiration of Gods glorie through out all his doynges, in whom is none euill, neither yet was there euer any guile founde. And I doubte not, but your grace is thus affected, and vnfainedly confessing your owne offences, taketh this scourge to come from God, as a iuste punishment of sinne for the amendement, not onely of your owne self, but also for the amendement of all other in generall. The lamentable voice of the poore (which is the mouth of God) throughout the whole realme, declares full well, the wickednesse of this life, and shewes plainly that this euill is more generally felte, then any manne is able by worde, or by writyng at full to set forth.

The cause why God taketh awaie the moste worthiest.

When God therefore, that is Lorde, not onely of the riche but also of the poore, seeth his grounde spoyled from the wholsome profite

profite of many, to the vaine pleasure of a fewe, and the yearthe made priuate, to suffice the lust of vnsaciable couetousnesse, and that thole whiche be his true members, can not liue for the intollerable oppression, the sore enhaunsing, and the moste wicked grasing of those throughout the whole Realme, whiche otherwise might well liue with the onely value and somme of their landes, and yearely reuenues: he striketh in his anger the innocentes, and tender younglinges to plague vs with the lacke of theim, whose innocencie and Godlinesse of life, might haue been a iuste example for vs, to amende our moste euill doynges. In whiche wonderfull woorke of GOD, when he receiued these two moste noble impes, and his children elected to the euerlastyng kyngdome, I can not but magnifie his moste glorious name, from tyme to tyme: that hath so graciously preserued these two worthie gentlemen, from the daunger of further euill, and moste vile wretchednesse moste like right shortly to ensue, excepte we all repente, and forthinke vs of our former euill liuyng. And yet I speake not this as though I knewe any crime to bee more in you, then in any other: But I tell it to the shame of all those vniuersally within this realme, that are giltie of suche offences, whose inwarde consciences condempne their owne doynges, and their open deedes beare witnesse against their euill nature. For it is not one house that shall feele the fall of these twoo Princes, neither hath GOD taken theim for one priuate persones offences: but for the wickednesse of the whole Realme, whiche is like to feele the smarte, excepte God be mercifull vnto vs.

But now that thei be gone, though the flesshe be fraile, weake, and tender, and must needes smarte, beyng wounded or cutte: yet I doubt not but your grace, lackyng twoo suche portions of your owne flesshe, and hauyng them (as a mamme would saie) cut awaie from your owne bodie, wil suffer the smart with a good stomack, and remember that sorowe is but an euill remedy to heale a sore. For if your hande were detrenched, or your bodie maimed with some sodaine stroke, what profite were it for you to weepe vppon your wound, and when the harme is doen to lament still the sore? Seing that with weping it wil not be lesse, and maie yet throughe weping full sone be made more. For the sore is increased, whē sorowe

Where necessitie ruleth, sorowe is needelesse.

rowe is added, and the paine is made double, whiche before was but single. A constaunt Christian should beare all miserie, and with patience abide the force of necessitie, shewyng with sufferaunce the strength of his faithe, and especially when the chaunge is from euill to good, from woe to weale, what folly is it to sorrowe that, for the whiche thei ioye that are departed? They haue taken nowe their reste, that liued here in trauaile: Thei haue forsaken their bodies, wherein thei were bound to receiue the spirite, whereby thei are free. They haue chosen for sickenesse, health: for yearth, heauen: for life transitorie, life immortall: and for manne, God: then the whiche, what can they haue more? Or howe is it possible thei can bee better? Undoubtedlie if euer they were happie, thei are nowe moste happie: if euer they were well, they are nowe in beste case, beyng deliuered from this present euill woorld, and exempted from Sathan, to liue for euer with Christe our Sauiour.

Then what meane we, that not onely lamente the wante of a. ther, but also desire to tarie here our selues, hoppyng for a shorte, vaine, and therewith a painfull pleasure, and refusyng to enioye that continuall perfecte, and heauenlie enheritaunce, the whiche so sone shall happen vnto, as Nature dissolueth this yerthly body. Truthe it is, we are more fleshly then spirituall, soner felyng the ache of our bodie, then the griefe of our soule: more studious with care to bee healthfull in carkasse, then sekyng with praier, to bee pure in Spirite. And therefore, if our freendes bee stained with sinne, we doe not or we wil not espie their sore, we coumpte them faultlesse, when thei are moste wicked, neither sekyng the redresse of their euill dooyng, nor yet once amendyng the faultes of our owne liuyng.

The folly of such as sorrowe the wãt of their frẽds

But when our frende departeth this woorld, and then forsaketh vs, when sinne forsaketh hym: we begin to shewe our fleshlie natures, we weepe and we waile, and with long sorrowe without discretion, declare our want of Goddes grace, and all goodnesse. whereas we see that as some be borne, some doe die also, menne, women and children, and not one howre certaine to vs of all our life, yet we neuer mourne, we neuer weepe, neither marking the death of suche as we knowe, nor regardyng the euill life of those

whom

whom we loue. But when suche departe as were either nigheſt of our kinred, or els moſte our frendes, we then lament without al comfort, not the ſinnes of their ſoules, but the chaunge af their bodies, leauing to doe that which we ſhould, and doyng that onely whiche we ſhould not doe at all. Wherein not onely we declare muche want of faithe, but alſo we ſhewe greate lacke of witte. For as the other are gone before, either to Heauen or els to Hell: ſo ſhall our frendes and kinſfolke folowe after. Wee are all made of one metall, and ordeined to dye ſo many as liue. Therefore what folly is it in vs, or rather what fleſhely madneſſe immoderately to wayle their death, whom GOD hath ordeined to make their ende, excepte we lament the lacke of our owne liuyng? For euen as well we might at their firſte birthe bewaile their natiuitie, conſideryng they muſt needes dye, becauſe they are borne to liue. And what ſoeuer hath a beginnyng, the ſame hath alſo an endyng, and the ende is not at our will, whiche deſire continuaunce of life, but at his will whiche gaue the beginnyng of life. Nowe then ſeyng GOD hath ordeined all to dye, accordyng to his appointed will, what meane they that would haue theirs to liue? Shall God alter his firſte purpoſe, for the onely ſatiſfiyng of our fooliſhe pleaſure? And where God hath minded that the whole worlde ſhall decaie, ſhall any man deſire that any one houſe maie ſtande? In my minde, there can bee no greater comforte to any one liuyng for the lacke of his frende, than to thinke that this happened to him, whiche all other either haue felte, or els ſhall feele hereafter: And that God the rather made Deathe common to all, that the vniuerſall Plague and egalneſſe to all, might abate the fierceneſſe of death, and comfort vs in the crueltie of theſame conſideryng no one man hath an ende, but that all ſhall haue the like, and die we muſt euery mothers ſonne of vs at one tyme or other. But you will ſaie: my children might haue liued longer, they died young. Sure it is by mannes eſtimation they might haue liued longer, but had it been beſte for theim thinke you, to haue continued ſtill in this wretched worlde, where Vyce beareth rule, and Vertue is ſubdued, where GOD is neglected, his lawes not obſerued, his worde abuſed, and his Prophets that preache the iudgemente of God, almoſte euery where contemned? If your chil-

Death common to all.

Eutill to liue emong the euill.

dren

dren were a liue, and by the aduise of some wicked persone, were brought to a brothell house, where entising Harlottes liued, and so were in daunger, to commit that foule sinne of whordome, and so led from one wickednesse to an other: I am assured, your grace would call them backe with labour, and would with exhortations induce them to the feare of God, and vtter detestation of all sinne, as you haue full oft̄e heretofore doen, rather fearing euill to come then knowing any open faulte to be in either of them. Now then seyng God hath dooen the same for you hymself, that you would haue doen for theim if thei had liued, that is, in deliuerynge theim bothe from this present euill worlde, which I coumpt none other then a brothell house, and a life of all naughtinesse: you ought to thanke God highly, that he hath taken awaie your twoo sonnes, euen in their youth, beyng innocentes bothe for their liuyng, and of suche expectation for their towardnesse, that almoste it were not possible for theim hereafter, to satisfie the hope in their age, which all mē presently had cōceiued of their youth. It is thought and in deede it is no lesse then a greate poinct of happinesse, to die happely. Now, when could your twoo noble gentlemen haue died better, then when thei were at the beste, moste Godly in many thynges, offendyng in fewe, beloued of the honeste, and hated of none (if euer thei were hated) but of suche as hate the beste. As in deede, noble vertue neuer wanted cankarde enuie to followe her. And consideryng that this life is so wretched, that the beste are euer moste hated, and the vilest alwaies moste esteemed, and your twoo sonnes of the other side, beyng in that state of honestie, and trained in that pathe of Godlinesse (as I am able to bee a liuely witnesse, none hath been like these many yeares, or at the leaste, none better brought vp) what thinke you of GOD, did he enuie them, or els did he prouidently forsee vnto them bothe, when he tooke theim bothe from vs. Assuredly, whom God loueth beste, those he taketh soonest, accordyng to the saiyng of Salomon: The righteous man (meanyng *Enoch*, and other the chosen of God) is sodainly taken awaie, to the intent, that wickednesse should not alter his vnderstandyng, and that hypocrisie should not begile his soule. For the craftie bewitching of lies, make good thinges dark the vnstedfastnes also, and wickednes of voluptuous desire, turne

To die happely, is great happinesse.

Wised. iiii.

aside

aſide the vnderſtandyng of the ſimple. And though the righteous was ſone gone, yet fulfilled he muche tyme, for his ſoule pleaſed God, and therefore hated he to take hym awaie from emong the wicked. Yea, the good men of God in all ages, haue euer had an earneſt deſire to be diſſolued. My ſoule (ſaith Dauid) hath an earneſt deſire to enter into the courtes of the Lord. Yea like as the Hart deſireth the water brokes, ſo longeth my ſoule after thee O God. My ſoule is a thirſte for God: yea, euen for the liuyng God, when ſhall I come to appere before the preſence of God? Paule and the Apoſtles wiſhed & longed for the daie of the lorde, and thought euery daie a thouſand yere, till their ſoules were parted from their bodies. Then, what ſhould we waile them, which are in that place where we all ſhould wiſhe to be, and ſeke ſo to liue, that we might be redy, when it ſhall pleaſe God of his goodneſſe to call vs to his mercy. Let vs be ſicke for our own ſinnes that liue here on perth, and reioyce in their moſte happie paſſage, that are gone to heauē. Thei haue not left vs, but gone before vs to inherite with Chriſt, their kingdom prepared. And what ſhould this greue your grace that thei are gone before, cōſidering our whole life is nothing els but ỹ right waie to death. Should it trouble any one, that his frēd is come to his iournies ende? Our life is nothing els, but a cōtinuall trauaile, & death obtaineth reſt after all our labor. Emōg men that trauaile by the hye waie, he is beſt at eaſe (in my minde) that ſoneſt cometh to his iourneis ende, Therfore, if your grace loued your children (as I am well aſſured you did) you muſt reioyce in their reſt, and giue God hartie thankes, that thei are come ſo ſone to their iourneis ende. Mary, if it were ſo that man might eſcape the daūger of death, and liue euer, it were an other matter: but becauſe we muſt al die, either firſt or laſt, & of nothing ſo ſure in this life, as we are all ſure to die at length, & nothing more vncertaine vnto man, then the certaine time of euery mans latter time, what forceth whē we die, either this daie or to morowe, either this yere or the next, ſauyng that I thinke theim moſte happie that dye ſoneſte, and death frendly to none ſo muche, as to theim whom ſhe taketh ſoneſt. At the tyme of an executiō doen, for greuous offences, what mattereth who die firſt, when a doſen are condempned together by a Lawe, conſideryng they muſt all die one and other.

Pſal. lxxxiiii

Pſalm. xlii.

Life, ỹ right waie to death.

Death purchaſeth reſte.

Death more frendly, the ſoner it commeth.

dren were a liue, and by the aduise of some wicked persone, were brought to a brothell house, where entising Harlottes liued, and so were in daunger, to commit that foule sinne of whordome, and so led from one wickednesse to an other: I am assured, your grace would call them backe with labour, and would with exhortations induce them to the feare of God, and vtter detestation of all sinne, as you haue full oft̄e heretofore doen, rather fearing euill to come then knowing any open faulte to be in either of them. Now then seyng God hath dooen the same for you hymself, that you would haue doen for theim if thei had liued, that is, in deliuerynge theim bothe from this present euill worlde, which I compt none other then a brothell house, and a life of all noughtinesse: you ought to thanke God highly, that he hath taken awaie your twoo sonnes, euen in their youth, beyng innocentes bothe for their liuyng, and of suche expectation for their towardnesse, that almoste it were not possible for theim hereafter, to satisfie the hope in their age, which all mē presently had cōceiued of their youth. It is thought and in deede it is no lesse then a greate poinct of happinesse, to die happely. Now, when could your twoo noble gentlemen haue died better, then when thei were at the beste, moste Godly in many thynges, offendyng in fewe, beloued of the honeste, and hated of none (if euer thei were hated) but of suche as hate the beste. As in deede, noble vertue neuer wanted cankarde enuie to followe her. And considerynge that this life is so wretched, that the beste are euer moste hated, and the vilest alwaies moste esteemed, and your twoo sonnes of the other side, beyng in that state of honestie, and trained in that pathe of Godlinesse (as I am able to bee a liuely witnesse, none hath been like these many yeares, or at the leaste, none better brought vp) what thinke you of GOD, did he enuie them, or els did he prouidently forsee vnto them bothe, when he tooke theim bothe from vs. Assuredly, whom God loueth beste, those he taketh soonest, accordyng to the saiyng of Salomon: The righteous man (meanyng *Enoch*, and other the chosen of God) is sodainly taken awaie, to the intent, that wickednesse should not alter his vnderstandyng, and that hypocrisie should not begile his soule. For the craftie bewitching of lies, make good thinges dark the vnstedfastnes also, and wickednes of voluptuous desire, turne

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Wised. iiii.

aside

aſide the vnderſtandyng of the ſimple. And though the righteous was ſone gone, yet fulfilled he muche tyme, for his ſoule pleaſed God, and therefore hated he to take hym awaie from emong the wicked. Yea, the good men of God in all ages, haue euer had an earneſt deſire to be diſſolued. My ſoule (ꝙ Dauid) hath an earneſt deſire to enter into the courttes of the Lord. Yea like as the Hart deſireth the water brokes, ſo longeth my ſoule after thee O God. My ſoule is a thirſte for God: yea, euen for the liuyng God, when ſhall I come to appere before the preſence of God? Paule and the Apoſtles wiſhed & longed for the daie of the lorde, and thought euery daie a thouſand yere, till their ſoules were parted from their bodies. Then, what ſhould we waile them, which are in that place where we all ſhould wiſhe to be, and ſeke ſo to liue, that we might be redy, when it ſhall pleaſe God of his goodneſſe to call vs to his mercy. Let vs be ſicke for our own ſinnes that liue here on perth, and reioyce in their moſte happie paſſage, that are gone to heauē. Thei haue not left vs, but gone before vs to inherite with Chriſt, their kingdom prepared. And what ſhould this greue your grace that thei are gone before, cōſidering our whole life is nothing els but ỹ right waie to death. Should it trouble any one, that his frēd is come to his iourneis ende? Our life is nothing els, but a cōtinuall trauaile, & death obtaineth reſt after all our labor. Emōg men that trauaile by the hye waie, he is beſt at eaſe (in my minde) that ſoneſt cometh to his iourneis ende, Therfore, if your grace loued your children (as I am well aſſured you did) you muſt reioyce in their reſt, and giue God hartie thankes, that thei are come ſo ſone to their iourneis ende. Nay, if it were ſo that man might eſcape the daūger of death, and liue euer, it were an other matter: but becauſe we muſt al die, either firſt or laſt, & of nothing ſo ſure in this life, as we are all ſure to die at length, & nothing more vncertaine vnto man, then the certaine time of euery mans latter time, what forceth whē we die, either this daie or to morowe, either this yere or the next, ſaiyng that I thinke theim moſte happie that dye ſoneſte, and death frendly to none ſo muche, as to theim whom ſhe taketh ſoneſt. At the tyme of an executiō doen, for greuous offences, what mattereth who die firſt, when a doſen are condempned together by a Lawe, conſideryng they muſt all die one and other.

Pſal. lxxxiiii

Pſalm. xlii.

Life, ỹ right waie to death

Death purchaſeth reſte.

Death more frendly, the ſoner it commeth.

I

Thracians. I saie still, happie are they that are soneſt ridde out of this woꝛld, and the soner gone, the soner blessed. The *Thracians* lamẽt greatly at the birthe of their childꝛen, and reiopce mutche at the burial of their bodies, beyng well assured that this woꝛlde is nothyng els but miserie, and the woꝛlde to come iope foꝛ euer. Now again the childe now boꝛne, partly declareth the state of this life, who beginneth his tyme with wailyng, and firste sheweth teares, before he can iudge the cause of his woe. If wee beleue the pꝛomises of God, if we hope foꝛ the generall resurrection, and constantly affirme that God is iuste in all his woꝛkes: we can not but ispfully saie with the iuste man Job. The Loꝛde gaue theim, the Loꝛde hath taken theim againe, as it pleased God so maie it be, and blessed be the name of the loꝛd foꝛ now and euer. God dealeth wꝛongfully with no manne, but extendeth his mercie moste plentifully ouer all mankind. God gaue you two childꝛen, as the like I haue not knowen, happie are you moste gracious Ladie that euer you bare them. God lente you them twoo foꝛ a tyme, and tooke theim two againe at his time, you haue no wꝛong doen you, that he hath taken theim: but you haue receiued a wonderfull benefite that euer you had them. He is very vniuste that boꝛoweth and will not paie againe but at his pleasure. He foꝛgetteth muche his duetie, that boꝛoweth a Jewell of the Kynges Maiestie, and will not reſtoꝛe it with good will, when it shall please his grace to call foꝛ it. He is vnwoꝛthie hereafter to boꝛowe, that will rather grudge because he hath it no longer, then once giue thankes because he hath had the vse of it so long. He is ouer couetous, that coumpteth not gainfull the tyme of his boꝛowyng: but iudgeth it losse to reſtoꝛe thynges againe. He is vnthankefull that thinkes he hath wꝛong doen, when his pleasure is shoꝛtned, and takes the ende of his delight to bee extreme euill. He loseth the greateſt parte of his ioye in this woꝛlde, that thynketh there is no pleasure but of thynges presente: that can not comfoꝛte hymself with pleasure paste, and iudge them to be moste assured, considering the memoꝛie of them once had, can neuer decaie. His ioyes bee ouer straight, that bee comprehended within the compaſſe of his sight, and thynketh nothyng comfoꝛtable, but that whiche is euer before his eyes. All pleasure, whiche manne hath in this woꝛlde, is very shoꝛte, and

Children by weppng, declare our wo

Job.

Lent goods must bereſtoꝛed at the owners will.

sone

ſone goeth it awaie, the remembraunce lasteth euer and is muche more assured, then is the presence or liuely sight of any thyng. And thus your grace maie euer reioyce, that you had twoo suche, whiche liued so verteously, and died so Godly, and though their bodies be absent from your sight, yet the remembraunce of their vertues, shall neuer decaie from your mynde. God lendeth life to all, and lendeth at his pleasure for a time. To this man he graunteth a long life, to this a shorte space, to some one, a daie, to some a yeare, to some a moneth. Nowe, when God taketh, what man should bee offended, considerynge he that gaue freely, maie boldly take his owne when he will, and doe no man wrong. The Kinges Maiestie giueth one. x. li. an other. xl. li. an other. lx. li. shall he bee greued that receiued but. x. li. and not rather giue thankes, that he receiued so muche? Is that manne happier that dieth in the latter ende of the moneth, then he is that died in the beginnyng of the same moneth? Doeth distauuce of tyme, and long tarieng from God, make men more happie when thei come to God? By space of passage we differ muche, and one liueth louger then an other, but by death at the laste we all are matched, and none the happier that liueth the longer: but rather moste happie is he that died the soneste, and departed beste in the faithe of Christe. Thinke therefore your self moste happie, that you had two suche, and giue God hartie thankes that it pleased hym so sone to take two suche, Necessitie is lawlesse, and that which is by God appointed, no man can alter. Reioyce we, or wepe we, die we shall, how sone no man can tell. Yea, we are all our life time warned before, that death is at hande, and that when we goe to bed, we are not assured to rise the nexte daie in the morning, no, not to liue one howre longer. And yet to see our folly, we would assigne God his tyme, accordyng to our facietie, and not content our selues with his doinges, accordyng to his appointment. And euer we saie when any dyeyong, he might haue liued longer, it was pitie he died so sone. As though forsoth, he were not better with God, then he can be with man. Therefore, whereas for a tyme your grace muche bewailed their lacke, not onely absentyng your self from all companie, but also refusing all kinde of comfort, almoste dedde with heauinesse, your bodie beyng so worne with sorowe, that the long continu-

aunce

aunce of the same, is muche like to shorten your daies: I shall desire your grace for Gods loue, to referre your will to Gods will, and whereas hetherto nature hath taught you, to weepe the lacke of your naturall children, let reason teach you hereafter, to whipe awaie the teares, and let not phantasie encrease that, whiche nature hath commaunded moderatly to vse. To be sorry for the lacke of our dearest, we are taught by nature, to be ouercome with sorowe, it cometh of our owne fonde opinion, and greate folly it is, with naturall sorowe to encrease all sorowe, and with a little sicknesse, to purchase readie death. The sorowes of brute beastes are sharpe, and yet thei are but short. The Cowe lacking her Caulfe, leaueth lowing within three or fower daies at the farthest. Birds of the aire, perceiuyng their youngones taken from their neast, chitter for a while in Trees there aboute, and straight after they flie abroade and make no more adoe. The Doo lackyng her Faune, the Hinde her Calfe, braie no long tyme after their losse, but seyng their lacke to be without remedy, thei cease their sorow within short space. Man onely emong all other, ceaseth not to fauour his sorowe, and lamenteth not onely so muche as nature willeth hym, but also so mutche as his owne affection moueth hym. And yet all folke doe not so, but sutche as are subiecte to passions, and furtherest from fortitude of mind, as women commonly rather then men, rude people rather then Godly folke: the vnlearned soner then the learned, foolishe folke soner then wise men, children, rather then yong men. Wherevpon we maie well gather, that immoderate sorowe, is not naturall (for that whiche is naturall, is euer like in all) but through folly maintained, encreased by weakenesse, and for lacke of reason made altogether intollerable. Then I doubte not, but your grace will rather ende your sorowe by reason: then that sorowe should ende you through folly, and whereas by nature, you are a weake woman in bodie, you will shewe your self by reason, a strong manne in harte: rather endyng your grief by Godly aduertisementes, and by the iuste consideration of Goddes wonderfull doopynges: then that tyme and space, should weare awaie your sorowes, whiche in deede suffer none, continually to abide in any one, but rather rid theim of life, or els ease them of grief. The foole, the vngodly, the weake harted haue

The nature of brute beastes.

Immoderat sorowe, not naturall.

this

this remedy, your medicen must be more heauenly, if you doe (as you professe) referre all to Gods pleasure, and saie in your praier. Thy will be doen in yearth as it is in heauen. Those whom God loueth, those he chasteneth, and happie is that body, whom God scourgeth for his amendemente. The man that dieth in the faithe of Christe is blessed, and the chastened seruaunt if he doe repente and amende his life, shalbe blessed. We knowe not what we doe when we bewaile the deathe of our dearest, for in death is altogether all happinesse, and before death not one is happie. The miseries in this worlde declare small felicitie to be in the same. Therefore, many men beyng ouer whelmed with much woe and wretched wickednesse, haue wished and praied to God for an ende of this life, and thought this worlde to be a let, to the heauenly perfection, the whiche blisse all thei shall attaine hereafter that hope well here, and with a liuely faithe declare their assuraunce. Your graces twoo sonnes in their life were so Godly, that their death was their aduauntage: for, by death thei liued, because in life thei were ded. Thei died in faith, not wearie of this worlde, nor wishyng for death, as ouerloden with sinne: but paciently takyng the crosse departed with ioye. At whose diyng, your grace maie learn an example of pacience and all thankes giuyng, that God of his goodnesse, hath so graciously taken these your two children to his fauourable mercy. God punished partly to trie your constancie, wherein I wish that your grace maie now be as well willyng to forsake them, as euer you were willing to haue them. But such is the infirmitie of our fleshe, that we hate good comfort in wordes, when that cause of our comforte in deede (as we take it) is gone. And me thinkes I heare you crie notwithstanding al my wordes, a lacke my children are gone. But what though they are gone? GOD hath called, and nature hath obeied. Yea, you crie still my children are dedde: Marie therefore they liued, and blessed is their ende whose life was so Godly. Woe worth thei are dedde thei are ded. It is no new thing, thei are neither the first that died, nor yet the last that shal die. Many went before, and all shall folowe after. Thei liued together, thei loued together, and now thei made their ende bothe together. Alas they died that were the fruict of myne owne body, leuyng me comfortles, vnhappie woman that I am.

Tyme, a remedie for fooles to take awaie their sorowe. Math. vi Jhon. v.

The greate misery of this worlde, makes werines of life.

Impatience without cōforte.

You

You doe well, to call them the fruicte of your bodie, and yet you nothyng the more vnhappie neither. For is the Tree vnhappie, from which the Apples fall? Or is the yearth accursed, that bringeth forth greene grasse, whiche hereafter notwithstandyng doth wither. Death taketh no order of yeares, but when the tyme is appointed, be it earely or late, daie or night, awaie we must. But I praie you, what loue hath your grace? They died, that should haue died, yea, they that could liue no lōger. But you wished them longer life. Yea, but God made you no suche promise, and meete it were not, that he should be led by you, but you rather should be led by him. Your children died and that right Godly, what would you haue more? All good mothers desire that their children maie dye Goddes seruauntes, the whiche your grace hath moste assuredly obtained. Now againe, mannes nature altereth, and hardly tarieth vertue long in one place, without muche circumspection, and youth maie sone be corrupted. But you will saie. These were good and Godly brought vp, and therefore, moste like to proue Godly hereafter if they had liued still. Well, though such thynges perhaps had not chaunced, yet such thinges might haue chaunced, and although they happen not to all, yet doe they hap to many: and though they had not chaunced to your children, yet we knewe not that before and more wisedome it had been, to feare the worste with good aduisemente, then euer to hope, and looke still for the beste, without all mistrustyng. For such is the nature of man and his corrupt race, that euermore the one followeth soner then the other. Commodus was a vertedus childe, and had good bringyng vp, and yet he died a moste wicked man. Nero wanted no good counsaile, and suche a Maister he had, as neuer any had the better, and yet what one aliue was worse then he? But now death hath assured your grace, that you maie warrant your self of their Godly ende, whereas if God had spared them life, thinges might haue chaunced otherwise. In wishyng longer life, we wishe often tymes longer woe, longer trouble, longer folly in this worlde, and were all thinges well, you shall perceiue we haue small ioye, to wish longer life. This imagination of longer life, when the life standeth not by nomber of yeares, but by the appointed will of God, maketh our folly so muche to appere, and our teares so continually

Trees, not cursed, because Apples fall frō them

Commodus

Nero.

continually to fall from our cheekes. For if wee thought (as wee ſhould doe in deede) that euery daie riſyng, maie bee the ende of euery manne liuyng, and that there is no difference with GOD, betwixte one daie and an hundreth yeres: Wee might beare all ſorowes a greate deale the better. Therefore it were moſte wiſedome for vs all, and a greate parte of perfection, to make euery daie an euen reckenyng of our life, and talke ſo with God euery howre, that wee maie bee of euen boyde with hym, through fulneſſe of faithe, and ready to goe the nexte howre followyng at his commaundemente, and to take alwaies his ſendyng in good part. The Lorde is at hande. Wee knowe not when he will come (at midnight, at cocke crowe, or at noone daies) to take either vs, or any of ours. Therefore, the rather that we maie bee armed, let vs followe the examples of other godlie men, and laie their doynges before your eyes. And emong al other, I knowe none ſo mete for your graces comfort, as the wiſe and godlie behauour of good Kyng *Dauid*. Who when he was enformed that his ſonne was ſicke, praied to God hartly for his amendement, wept, faſted, and with muche lamentacion declared greate heauineſſe. But when worde came of his ſonnes departure, he left his mournyng, he called for water, and willed meate to be ſet before him, that he might eate. Wherevpon, when his men marueiled why he did ſo, conſiderynge he tooke it ſo greuouſly before, when his childe was but ſicke, and now beyng dedde tooke no thought at all, he made this anſwere vnto them: ſo long as my child liued I faſted, and watered my plantes for my yong boye, and I ſaied to my ſelf who can tell, but that God perhapps will giue me hym, and that my child ſhall liue, but now ſeyng he is dedde, to what ende ſhould I faſte? Can I call hym againe any more? Naie, I ſhall rather goe vnto hym, he ſhall neuer come againe vnto me. And with that *Dauid* comforted his wife *Bathſabe*, the which example, as I truſt your grace hath red for your comfort, ſo I hope you will alſo followe it for your health, and be as ſtrong in pacience as euer *Dauid* was. The hiſtorie it ſelf ſhall muche delite your grace, beyng red as it lieth in the Booke, better then my bare touchyng of it can doo a greate deale. The whiche I doubte not, but your grace will often reade and comfort your ſelf, as *Dauid* did his ſorowfull wife, *Iob* loſyng

ii. Reg. xii. Dauid.

Iob.

losyng his children and all that he had, forgatte not to praise God in his extreame pouertie. *Tobias* lackyng his eye sight, in spirite praised God, and with open mouthe confessed his holie name, to be magnified throughout the whole yearth. *Paule* the Apostle of God, reproueth them as worthie blame, whiche mourne and lament the losse of their dearestе. I would not brethren (q̃ he) that you should be ignoraunt concernyng thē whiche be fallen on slepe that you sorowe not as other doe, whiche haue no hope. If we beleue that Jesus died and rose again, euen so thei also whiche slepe by Jesus, will God bryng againe with hym. Then your grace either with leauyng sorowe, muste shewe your self faithfull, or els with yeldyng to your woe, declare your self to bee without hope. But I trust your grace beyng planted in Christ, will shewe with sufferance the fruite of your faithe, and comfort your self with the wordes of Christ, I am the resurrection and the life, he that beleueth me, yea, though he were dedde, yet should he liue, and who soeuer liueth and beleueth in me shall neuer die. We read of those that had no knowledge of God, and yet thei bare in good worthe the disease of their children. *Anaxagoras* hearyng tell, that his sonne was dedde, no marueile q̃ he, I knowe well I begot a mortall bodie. *Pericles* cheef ruler of *Athens*, hearyng tell that his twoo sonnes beyng of wonderfull towardnesse, within fower dayes were bothe dedde, neuer greatly changed countenance for the matter, that any one could perceiue, nor yet forbare to go abroad, but accordyng to his wonted custome, did his duetie in the counsaill house in debatyng matters of weight, concernyng the state of the common peoples weale. But because your grace is a woman, I will shewe you an example of a noble woman, in whom appered wonderfull pacience. *Cornelia* a worthie ladie in Rome, beyng comforted for the losse of her twoo children, *Tiberius*, and *Caius Gracchus*, bothe valiaunte glentlemen, although bothe not the moste honest men, whiche died not in their beddes, but violently were slaine in ciuill battaile, their bodies liyng naked and vnburied, when one emong other saied: oh vnhappie woman, that euer thou shouldest se this daie. Naie q̃ she, I will neuer thynke my self otherwise then moste vnhappie, that euer I brought forth these twoo *Gracchions*. If this noble Ladie could thinke her self happie,

Tobias.

1. Thess. iiij.

Jhon. xi.

Anaxagoras

Pericles.

Cornelia.

happie, beyng mother to these twoo valiaunt gentlemen, and yet bothe rebelles, and therefore iustly slaine: how muche more maie your grace thinke your self moste happie, that euer you brought forthe twoo suche *Brandons*, not onely by naturall birthe, but also by moste godlie education in suche sorte, that the like twoo haue not been for their towardnesse vniuersally. Whose death, the generall voyce of all menne, declares how muche it was lamented. So that, whereas you might euer haue feared some daungerous ende, now are you assured, that thei bothe made a moste godlie ende, the whiche thyng is the full perfection of a Christian life. I Vibulus.
read of one *Bibulus*, that hearyng of his twoo children to die both in one daie, lamented the lacke of them bothe for that one daie, and mourned no more. And what could a man doe lesse, then for twoo children to lamente but one daie, and yet in my iudge he lamented enough, and euen so muche as was reason for hym to doe, whose doynges if all christians would followe, in my iudgement thei should not onely fulfill Natures rule, but also please GOD highlie. *Horatius Puluillus* beyng high Priest at Rome, when he Horatius.
was occupied aboute the dedication of the Temple, to the greate Puluillus.
God *Iupiter*, in the Capitolie, holdyng a poste in his hande, and heard as he was vtterynge the solempne woordes, that his sonne was dedde euen at the same presente: he did neither plucke his hande from the poste, least he should trouble suche a solempnitie, neither yet to tourne his countenaunce from that publique Religion, to his priuate sorowe, least he should seme rather to doe the office of a Father, then the duetie of an high Minister. *Paulus E-* Paulus
milius, after his moste noble victorie had of Kyng *Perse*, desired Emilius.
of God that after suche a triumphe, there were any harme like to happen to the Romaines, the same might fall vppon his owne house. Whereupon, when God had taken his twoo children from hym, immediately after he thanked GOD, for graunteyng hym his bounde. For in so dooyng he was a meane, that the people rather lamented *Paulus Emilius* lacke, then that *Paulus* or any be- Quintus
wailed any misfortune that the Romaines had. Examples bee Martius.
innumerable of those whiche vsed like moderation, in subduyng Iulius
their affections, as *Xenophon*, *Quintus Martius*, *Iulius Cæsar*, Cæsar.
Tiberius Cæsar, Emperors bothe of Rome. But what seke I for Tiberius
Cæsar.

misfortunate menne (if any suche bee misfortunate) seyng it is an harder matter and a greate peece of woorke, to finde out happie menne. Let vs looke rounde aboute, euen at home, and wee shall finde enough subiecte to this misfortune, for who liueth that hath not loste? Therefore, I would wishe your grace euen now, to come in again with God, and although he be angrie, yet shewe you your selfe moste obedient to his will, considerynge he is Lorde ouer Kynges, Emperours, and ouer all that be, bothe in heauen and in yearth, and spareth none whom he listeth to take, and no doubt he will take all at the laste. His darte goeth daiely, neither is any dart cast in vaine, whiche is sent emong the whole armie, standing thicke together. Neither can you iustly lament that thei liued no longer, for thei liued long enough, that haue liued well enough. You must measure your children by their vertues, not by their yeres. For (as the Wiseman saieth) a mannes wisedome is the greye heares, and an vndefiled life is the olde age. Happie is that Mother that hath had godlie Children, and not she that hath had long liuyng Children. For, if felicitie should stande by length of tyme, some Tree were more happie then any manne, for it liueth longer: and so likewise brute beastes, as the Stagges, who liueth (as *Plinius* doeth saie) twoo hundred yeres and more. If we would but consider what manne is, we should haue small hope to liue, and little cause to putte any greate assuraunce in this life. Lette vs see hym what he is? Is his bodie any thyng els, but a lumpe of yearth, made together in suche forme as we doe se? A fraile vessell, a weake carion subiect to miserie, cast downe with euery light disease, a man to daie, to morowe none. A flowre that this daie is freshe, to morowe withereth. Good Lorde doe we not see, that euen those thinges whiche nourishe vs, doe rotte and die, as herbes, birdes, beastes, water, and all other, without the whiche we cannot liue. And how can we liue euer, that are fulfilled with deade thynges? Therefore, when any one doeth die, why doe wee not thinke, that this maie chaunce to euery one, whiche now hath chaunced to any one. We bee now as those that stande in battaill raie. Not one man is sure of himselfe before all other, but all are in daunger in like maner to death. That your children died before other that were of riper yeres, we maie iudge that their ripenesse

Sapi. 1.

Trees liue longer then menne.

The Stag how long he liueth.

Man what he is concernyng his bodie.

for

for vertue, and all other giftes of nature wer brought euen to perfection, whereby Death the soner approched, for nothyng long lasteth that is sone excellent. God saue your grace twoo moste excellente childyen, God neuer giueth for any long tyme, those that be right excellent. Their Natures were heauenly, and therefore more meete for God then man. Emong fruite we se some apples are sone ripe, and fall from the Tree in the middest of Sommer: other be still greene and tary till Winter, and herebyon are commōly called Winter fruite: euen so it is with man, some die yong some die old, and some die in their midle age. Your soules were euen twoo suche already, as some hereafter maie be with long continuance of time. Thei had that in their youth for the giftes of nature, which all men would require of them bothe scarcely in their age. Therefore beyng bothe now ripe, thei were moste ready for God. There was a child in Rome of a mannes quantitie, for fast legges, and other partes of the bodie, wherupon wisemen iudged he would not bee long liuyng. How could your grace thinke, that when you saw so ancient wisedome in the one, and moste pregnant wit in thother, incredible sobrietie in thelder, and most laudable gentilnesse in the ponger, them bothe moste studious in learnyng most forward in al feates, aswell of the body as of the mine, beyng twoo suche and so excellent, that thei wer not like long to cōtinue with you. God neuer suffereth suche excellent and rare iuels long to inherite the yearth. Whatsoeuer is nye perfection, thesame is moste nye fallyng. Uertue beeyng once absolute, cannot long bee seen with these our fleshly eyes, neither can that tary the latter ende with other, that was ripe it self firste of all, and before other. Fire goeth out the soner, the clearer that it burneth: and that light lasteth longest, that is made of moste course matter. In greene wood we maie se, that where as the fuell is not moste apt for burning, yet the fire lasteth longer, then if it were nourished with like quantitie of drie wood. Euen so in the nature of man, the mind beyng ripe, the bodie decaieth streight, and life goeth awaie beeyng once brought to perfection. Neither can there be any greater token of shorte life, then full ripenesse of naturall witte: the whiche is to the body, as the heate of the Sunne is to thinges yearthly. Therfore iudge right honourable ladie, that euen now thei bothe died,

Ripe thynges last not long.

when thei bothe were moste readie for God, neither thinke that thei died ouer sone, because thei liued no longer. Thei died bothe Gods seruauntes, and therefore thei died well and in good tyme. God hath set their tyme, and taken them at his tyme, blessed children as thei bee, to reigne with hym in the kyngdome of his Father, prepared for them from the begimyng. Unto whose will I wishe, and I truste your grace dooeth wholly referre your will, thankyng hym as hartely for that he hath taken them, as you euer thanked hym for that he euer lent you them. I knowe the wicked wordes of some vngodly folke haue muche disquieted your grace, notwithstandyng, God beyng iudge of your naturall loue towardes your children, and all your faithfull freendes and seruauntes, bearyng earnest witnesse with your grace of the same: their vngodlie talke the more highly is to be estemed, the more vngodlie that it is. Make your grace make reioyce rather, that whereas you haue doen well, you heare euill, according to the wordes of Christ Blessed are you when men speake all euill thynges againste you. And againe, consider God is not ledde by the report of mennes, to iudge his creatures, but perswaded by the true knowledge of euery mannes conscience to take them for his Seruauntes, and furthermore, the harme is theirs whiche speake so leudely, and the blesse theirs which beare it so patiently. For looke what measure thei vse to other, with the same thei shalbe measured againe. And as thei iudge, so shall thei bee iudged. Bee your grace therefore strong in aduersitie, and praie for them that speake amisse of you, renderyng good for euill, and with charitable dealyng, shewe your selfe long sufferyng, so shall you heape coales on their heddes. The boisterous Sea trieth the good Mariner, and sharpe veration declareth the true Christian. Where battaile hath not been before, there was neuer any victorie obtained. You then beeyng thus assailed, shewe your selfe rather stoute to withstande, then weake to giue ouer: rather cleauyng to good, then yeeldyng to euill. For if God bee with you, what forceth who bee against you. For when all freendes faile, God neuer faileth them that put their truste in hym, and with an vnfeined harte call to hym for grace. Thus doyng, I assure your grace God will be pleased, and the godlie will muche praise your wisedome, though the worlde full wickedlie

Math. v.

Patience praise worthie in aduersitie.

saie

saie their pleasure. I praie God your grace maie please the godlie, and with your vertuous behauour in this your widowhoode, winne their commendation to the glorie of God, the reioysyng of your frendes, and the comfort of your soule. *Amen.*

Thus, the rather to make preceptes plaine, I haue added examples at large, bothe for counsail giuyng, and for comfortyng. And moste needefull it were in sutche kinde of Orations, to bee moste occupied, considerynge the vse hereof appeareth full oft in all partes of our life, and confusedly is vsed emong al other matters. For in praisyng a worthie man, we shall haue iust cause to speake of all his vertues, of thynges profitable in this life, and of pleasures in generall. Likewise in trauersyng a cause before a Iudge, we can not wante the aide of persuasion and good counsaill, concerynge wealthe, healthe, life, and estimation, the helpe whereof is partly borowed of this place. But whereas I haue set forthe at large, the plainesse of confirmation, concernyng counsaill in diuers causes: it is not thought, that either thei should all be vsed in nomber as thei are, or in order as thei stande: but that any one maie vse them, and order them as he shall thinke beste, accordyng as the tyme, place, and persone shall moste of all require.

Of an Oration iudiciall.

The whole burdein of weightie matters, and the earnest triall of all controuersies, reste onelye vpon Iudgement. Therefore, when matters concernyng lande, gooddes, or life, or any suche thing of like weight are called in question, we must euer haue recourse to this kinde of Oration, and after iuste examinyng of our causes by the places thereof: looke for iudgement accordyng to the lawe.

Oration iudiciall what it is.

Oration Iudiciall, is an earneste debatyng in open assemblie, of some weightie matter before a Iudge, where the complainaunte commenseth his action, and the defendaunt thereupon answereth at his perill, to all suche thynges as are laied to his charge.

¶ *Of the foundation, or rather the principall pointe in euery debated matter, called of the Rhetoricians the State, or constitution of the cause.*

Ot onely it is needefull in cauſes of iudgement, to conſider the ſcope wherevnto we muſt leauell our reaſons, and direct our inuentiō: but alſo we ought in euery cauſe to haue a reſpect vnto ſome one eſpeciall pointe and cheef article: that the rather the whole drift of our doynges, maie ſeme to agree with our firſt deuiſed purpoſe. For by this meanes our iudgemēt ſhalbe framed to ſpeake with diſcretion, and the ignorannte ſhall learne to perceiue with profite, whatſoeuer is ſaid for his inſtruction. But thei that take vpon them to talke in open audience, and make not their accompte before, what thei will ſpeake after: ſhall neither be well liked for their inuention, nor allowed for their wit, nor eſteemed for their learnyng. For what other thyng doe thei, that boult out their wordes in ſuche ſorte, and without all aduiſement vtter out matter: but ſhewe themſelues to play as yong boies or ſcarre crowes doe, whiche ſhote in the open and plain feeldes at all aduentures hittie miſſie. The learned therefore, and ſuche as loue to be compted clerkes of vnderſtandyng, and meme of good circumſpection and iudgement, doe warely ſcan what thei cheefly minde to ſpeake, and by definition ſecke what that is, wherevnto thei purpoſe to directe their whole doynges. For by ſuche aduiſed warenesſe, and good eye caſtyng: thei ſhall alwaies bee able bothe to knowe what to ſaie, and to ſpeake what thei ought. As for exāple, if I ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake in open audience, of the obedience due to our ſoueraigne kyng, I ought firſte to learne what is obedience, and after knowledge attained, to direct my reaſons to the onely profit of this purpoſe, and wholie to ſeke confirmatiō of the ſame, and not turne my tale to talke of Robin Hode, and to ſhewe what a goodly archer was he, or to ſpeake wonders of the man in the Moone, ſuche as are moſte nedeleſſe, and fartheſt from the purpoſe. For then the hearer lookyng to be taught his obedience, and hearyng in the meane ſeaſon mad tales of Artherie, and greate meruailes of the man in the Moone: beyng half aſtonied at his ſo greate ſtraiyng, will perhaps ſaie to hymſelf: now whether the deuill wilt thou, come in man again for very ſhame, and tel me no bytales, ſuche as are to no purpoſe, but ſhewe me that whiche thou diddeſt promiſe, bothe to teach & perſwade at the firſt entrie. Aſſuredly ſuche fonde fellowes there haue been, yea, euen emong preachers,

Definition of a thyng muſt firſt bee knowne ere wee ſpeake our mynde at large.

Rourng without reaſon.

preachers, that talkyng of faithe, thei haue fetchte their full race from the xij. signes in the Zodiake. An other talkyng of the generall resurrection, hath made a large matter of our blessed Ladie, praisyng her to be so gentle, so curteous, and so kinde, that it were better a thousande fold, to make suite to her alone, then to Christe her sonne. And what nedeth (I praie you) any suche rehersal beyng both vngodly, and nothyng at all to the purpose. For what maketh the praise of our ladie, to the confirmation of the generall doome? Would not a man thinke hym mad, that hauyng an earnest errand from London to Douer, would take it the next waie to ride first into Northfolke, next into Essex, and last into Kent? And yet assuredly, many an vnlearned and witles man, hath straied in his talke muche farther a greate deale, yea truely as farre as hence to Rome gates. Therefore wille are thei that followe *Plinies* aduise, who would that all men bothe in writyng, and speakyng at large vppon any matter, should euer haue an eye to the cheefe title, and principall ground of their whole entent, neuer swarueng frō their purpose, but rather byngyng all thynges together, to confirme their cause so muche as thei can possible. Yea, the wise and expert men will aske of thē selues, how hangeth this to the purpose? To what ende do ye speake it? What maketh this for confirmation of my cause? And so by oft questioning, either chide their owne folie if thei speake amisse, or els be assured thei speake to good purpose.

Plinies counsaile for handelyng of causes.

A state therefore generally, is the cheefe ground and a matter, and the principall poynte wherevnto bothe he that speaketh should referre his whole wit, and the that heare should chiefly marke. A preacher taketh in hand to shewe what praier is, and how needful for man to call vpon God: now he should euer remember this his matter, applyng his reasons wholly and fully to this ende, that the hearers maie bothe knowe the nature of praier, and the needefulnesse of praier. The whiche when he hath done, his promise is fulfilled, his time well bestowed, and the hearers well instructed.

A state generally what it is.

¶ *A state or constitution, what it is in matters of iudgement.*

IN all other causes the state is gathered without contention, and seuerally handled vpon good aduisement, as he shall thinke best e that pleaseth to speake. But in mat-

ters criminall, where iudgement is required: there are twoo persones at the leaste, whiche muste through contrarietie stande and reste vppon some issue. As for example. A seruyng man is apprehended by a Lawier for Felonie, vppon suspition. The Lawier saieth to the seruyng manne: thou haste dooen this roberie. Naye (saieth he) I haue not doen it. Upon this conflicte and matchyng together ariseth this State, whether this seruyng man hath doen this robberie, or no? Upon whiche pointe the Lawier must stand, and seeke to proue it to the vttermoste of his power.

State in iudgement, what it is.

A State thereof in matters of Iudgemente, is that thyng whiche doeth arise vpon the first demaunde, and deniall made betwixt men, whereof the one part is the accuser, and the other part the persone, or persones accused. It is called a State, because we doe stande and rest vpon some one pointe, the whiche must wholie and onely bee proued of the one side, and denied of the other. I can not better terme it in Englishe, then by the name of an issue, the whiche not onely ariseth vpon muche debatyng, and long trauers vsed, whereupon all matters are saied to come to an issue: but alse els where an issue is saied to be then, and so often as bothe partes stande vpon one pointe, the whiche dooeth as well happen at the first beginnyng, before any probations are vsed, as it doeth at the latter endyng, after the matter hath at large been discussed.

State, why it is so called.

¶ *The deuision of States, or Issues.*

NOw that we knowe what an Issue is, it is nextē moste nedefull, to sheme how many there are in nomber. The wisest and beste learned haue a greed vppon three onely, and no lesse, the whiche are these followyng.

The state. { i. Coniecturall. ii. Legall. iii. Iuridiciall.

AND for the more plaine vnderstandyng of these dareke woordes, these three questions followyng, expound their meanyng altogether.

{ i. Whether the thing be, or no. ii. What it is. iii. What maner of thyng it is.

In

In the firſte wee conſider vpon rehearſall of a matter, whether any ſuche thing be, or no. As if one ſhould bee accuſed of murder, good it were to knowe, whether any murder were committed at all, or no, if it bee not perfectly knowne before: and after to goe further, and examine whether ſuche a man that is accuſed, haue doen the deede, or no.

In the ſecond place we doubt not vpon the thing doen, but we ſtande in doubte what to call it. Sometymes a man is accuſed of Felonie, and yet he proueth his offence to bee but a treſpaſſe, whereupon he eſcapeth the daunger of death. An other beyng accuſed for killyng a man, confeſſeth his fault to be manſlaughter, and denieth it vtterly to bee any murder, whereupon he maketh frendes to purchaſe his pardon. Nowe the Lawiers by their learnyng, muſt iudge the doubt of this debate, and tell what name he deſerueth to haue, that hath this offended.

In the third place not onely the deede is confeſſed, but the maner of dooyng is defended. And if one were accuſed for killyng a manne, to confeſſe the deede, and alſo to ſtande in it that he might iuſtly ſo doe, becauſe he did it in his owne defence: whereupon ariſeth this queſtion, whether his dooyng be right or wrong. And to make theſe matters more plaine, I will adde an example for euery ſtate ſeuerally.

Of the ſtate Coniecturall.

The Aſſertion.

Thou haſt killed this man.

The Anſwere.

I haue not killed hym.

The State or Iſſue.

Whether he hath killed this man, or no. Thus we ſee vppon the auouchyng and denyall, the matter ſtandeth vpon an Iſſue.

Of the ſtate Legall.

The Aſſertion.

Thou haſt committed treaſon in this caſe.

The Anſwere.

I deny it to be treaſon.

The State or Iſſue.

Whether his offence doen maie be called treaſon, or no. Here

is

is denied that any suche thing is in the deede doen, as is by wayde reported, and saied to be.

¶ *Of the state Iuridiciall.*

The Assertion.

Thou hast kill this man.

Answere.

I graunt it, but I haue doen it lawfully, because I killed him in myne owne defence.

Whether a man maie kill one in his owne defence, or no, and whether this man did so, or no.

¶ *The Oration coniecturall, what it is.*

THe oration coniecturall is when matters be examined, and tried out by suspitions gathered, and some likelihod of thing appearyng. A Soldiour is accused for killyng a Ferman. The soldiour denieth it vtterly, & saieth he did not kill him. Vpon riseth the question, whether the soldiour killed the ferman or no, who is well knowne to be slain. Now to proue this question we must haue suche places of confirmation, as hereafter doe followe.

¶ *Places of confirmation to proue thynges by coniecture.*

i. Will to doe euill.

ii. Power to doe euill.

i. IN the will must be considered the qualitie of the man, whether he were like to doe suche a deede, or no, and what should moue him to attempte suche an enterpise whether he did the murther vpō any displeasus before cōceiued, or of sodain anger, or els for that he looked by his death, to receiue some commoditie, either lande or office, money or money worthe, or any other gainfull thyng.

ii. Some are knowne to want no will to kil a man, because thei haue been fleshe heretofore, passyng little vpon the death of a man, as a Bocher doeth passe for killyng of an Oxe, beyng heretofore either accused before a Judge of manslaughter, or els quit by some generall pardon. Now when the names of suche menne are knowen, thei make wisemen euer hereafter to haue them in suspition.

iii. The countrey where the man was borne, declares sometime his naturall inclination, as if he were borne or brought vp emong the Tindale and Riddesdale men, he maie the soner be suspected.

Of

Of what trade he is, by what occupation he liueth. iiij.

Whether he be a gamester, an Alehouse haunter, or a panion emong Ruffians. v.

Of what wealthe he is, and how he came by that whiche he hath, if he haue any. vj.

What apparell he weareth, or whether he loueth to goe gaie, or no. vij.

Of what nature he is, whether he bee hastie, heddie, or readie to picke quarells. viij.

What shiftes he hath made from tyme to tyme. ix.

What moueth hym to doe suche a hainous deede. x.

¶ Places of confirmation, to proue whether he had power to doe suche a deede, or no.

The grounde where the man was slaine, whether it was in the hye waie, in a wood, or bet wene twoo hilles, or els where, nigh vnto a hedge or secret place. j.

The tyme, whether it was earely in the Mornyng, or late at Night. ij.

Whether he was there about that tyme, or no. iij.

Whether he ranne awaie after the deede was doen, or had any blood about hym, or trembled, or stakerde, or was contrary in tellyng of his tale, and how he kept his countenance. iiij.

Hope to keepe his deede secrete, by reason of the place, tyme, and secret maner of doyng. v.

Witnesses examined of his beyng, either in this or that place. vj.

By comparyng of the strength of the Murtherer, with the other mannes weakenesse, armour with nakednesse, and stoutnes with simplicitie. vij.

His confession. viij.

¶ An example of an oration iudiciall, to proue by coniecturer, the knowledge of a notable and moste hainous offence, committed by a soldiour.

AS Nature hath euer abhorred Murder, and God in all ages moste terribly hath plagued bloodsheding, so I truste your wisedomes (moste worthie Judges) will spedely seeke the execution of this moste hatefull synne. And where as God reuelleth to the sight of men, the knowledge of suche offences

ces by diuers likelihodes, and probable coniectures: I doubt not, but you beyng called of God to heare suche causes, will doe herein as reason shall riquire, and as this detestable offēce shall moue you, vpon rehearsall of the matter. The man that is well knowne to be slaine, was a worthie Farmer, a good house keeper, a wealthie housbandman, one that trauailed muche in this worlde, meanyng vprightly in all his doynges, and therefore beloued emong al men, and lamented of many whē his death was knowne. This Soldiour beeyng desperate in his doynges, and liuyng by spoile all his life tyme, came newlie from the warres, whose handes hath been lately bathed in blood, and now he keepeth this Countrey (where this Farmer was slaine) and hath been here for the space of one whole Monethe together, and by all likelihoodes, he hath slaine this honeste Farmer. For suche menfleshte vilaines, make small accoumpte for killyng any one, and dooe it thei will without any mercie, when thei maie see their tyme. Yea, this wretche is bruted for his beastlie demeanour, and knowen of long tyme to bee a strong theef. Neither had he escaped the daunger of the Lawe, if the kynges free pardon had not preuented the execution. His name declares his naughtie Nature, and his wicked liuyng hath made hym famous. For who is he that hearyng of N. (the notable offendours name, might here bee rehearsed) dooeth not thinke by and by, that he were like to doe suche a deede? Neither is he onely knowen vniuersally to be nought, but his soile also (where he was borne) giueth hym to bee an euill man: consideryng he was bredde and brought vp emong a denne of Theeues, emōg the men of Tindale and Riddesdale, where pillage is good purchase, and Murderyng is coumpted manhoode. Occupation hath he none, nor yet any other honest meanes, whereby to maintaine hymself: and yet he lineth moste sumpteouslie. No greater gamester in a whole Countrey, no suche riotor, a notable whoremonger, a leude roister emong Ruffians, a notable waister, to daie full of money, within seuenight after not worthe a grote. There is no man that seeth hym, but will take hym for his apparell to be a gentleman. He hath his chaunge of suites, yea, he spareth not to goe in his Silkes and Veluet. A greate quareller and fraie maker, glad when he maie be at defiance with one or other,

he

he made ſuche ſhiftes for money ere now, that I marualle how he hath liued till this daie. And now beeyng at a lowe ebbe, and lothe to ſeme baſe in his ſtate, thought to aduenture vppon this Farmer, and either to winne the Saddle, or els to loſe the horſe. And thus beyng ſo farre forward, wantyng no will to attempte this wicked deede, he ſought by all meanes poſſible, conuenient opportunitie to compaſſe his deſire. And waityng vnder a woode ſide, nigh vnto the high waie, about ſixe a clocke at Night, he ſett vpon this Farmer, at what tyme he was commyng homeward. For it appeareth not onely by his owne confeſſion, that he was there about the ſelf ſame tyme, where this manne was ſlaine: but alſo there be menne that ſawe hym ride in greate haſte, about the ſelf ſame tyme. And becauſe God would haue this Murder to bee knowne, looke I praie you, what blood he carieth aboute hym, to beare witneſſe againſt hym of his moſte wicked deede. Againe, his owne confeſſion dooeth plainely goe againſte hym, for he is in ſo many tales, that he cannot tell what to ſaie. And often his colour changeth, his bodie ſhaketh, and his tongue foltreth within his mouthe. And ſuche menne as he bringeth in to beare witneſſe with him, that he was at ſuche a place at the ſelf ſame howre whē the Farmer was ſlain: thei will not be ſworne for the very houre, but thei ſaie he was at ſuche a place within twoo howres after. Now Lorde, dooeth not this matter ſeme moſte plaine vnto all men, eſpecially ſeyng this deede was dooen ſuche a tyme, and in ſuche a place, that if the deuill had not been his good lorde, the matter had neuer come to light. And who will not ſaie, that this caitife had little cauſe to feare, but rather power enough to dooe his wicked facte, ſeeyng he is ſo ſturdie and ſo ſtrong, and the other ſo weake and vnweldie: yea, ſeyng this villaine was armed, and the other man naked. Doubt you not (worthie Judges) ſeyng ſuche notes of his former life, to declare his inward nature, and perceiuyng ſuche coniectures lawfully gathered vpon iuſt ſuſpition: but that this wretched ſoldiour hath ſlaine this worthy Farmer. And therefore, I appeale for Juſtice vnto your wiſedomes, for the death of this innocent man, whoſe blood before God aſketh iuſte auengement. I doubt not but you remember the wordes of Salomon, who ſaieth: It is a greate ſynne to forgiue the wicked,

as

as it is euill to condempne the innocent: and as I call vnfeinedlie for right full Iudgement, so I hope assuredlie for iust execution. The persone accused beyng innocent of the crime that is laid to his charge, maie vse the self same places for his owne defence, the whiche his accuser vsed to proue hym giltie.

¶ *The interpretation of a lawe, otherwise called a state legall.*

MAnoultyng out the true meanyng of a Lawe, we must vse to search out the nature of the same, by definyng some one worde, or comparyng one Lawe with an other, iudgyng vpon good triall, what is right, and what is wrong.

The partes.

i. Definition.
ii. Contrary Lawes.
iii. Lawes made, and the ende of the lawmaker.
iiii. Ambiguitie, or doubtfulnesse.
v. Probation by thynges like.
vi. Chalengyng or refusyng.

¶ *Definition what it is.*

WHen we vse to define a matter, when we cannot agree vpō the nature of some worde, the whiche we learne to knowe by askyng the question what it is. As for example. Where one is apprehēded for killing a man, we laie murder to his charge wherupon the accused persone, whē he graunteth the killing, and yet denieth it to be murder: we must streight after haue recourse to the definition, and aske what is murder, by definyng whereof, and comparyng the nature of the worde with his deede done: we shall sone knowe whether he cōmitted murder, or manslaughter.

¶ *Contrary Lawes.*

IT often happeneth, that lawes seme to haue a certaine repugnancie, whereof emong many riseth muche contention, whereas if bothe the lawes were well weighed and considered, accordyng to their circumstances, thei would appere nothing contrary in matter, though in wordes thei seme to dissent. Christ giueth warnyng, and chargeth his Disciples in the x. of Matth. that thei preache not the glad tidynges of his commyng into the worlde, to the Gentiles, but to the Iewes onely,

onely, vnto whom he was sent by his father. And yet after his resurrection, we doe reade in the laste of Matthewe, that he commaunded his disciples to goe into all the whole world, and preach the glad tidynges of his passion, and raunsome, paied for all creatures liuyng. Now, though these two lawes seme contrary, yet it is nothyng so. For, if the Jewes would haue receiued Christe, and acknowleged hym their sauiour, vndoubtedly, thei had been the onely children of God, vnto whom, the promise and couenaũt was made from the beginnyng. But because thei refused their sauiour, and crucified the Lord of glorie: Christe made the lawe generall, and called all men to life that would repent, promising saluation to all sutche, as beleued and were Baptised. So that the particuler lawe beyng now abrogated, must nedes giue place to the superiour.

¶ Fower lessons to be obserued, where contrary Lawes are called in question.

i. The inferior lawe, must giue place to the superior
ii. The lawe generall, must yeeld to the speciall.
iii. Mannes lawe, to Gods lawe.
iiii. An olde lawe, to a newe lawe.

There be lawes vtterde by Christes owne mouth, the whiche if thei be taken accordyng as thei are spoken, seme to contain great absurditie in them. And therefore, the minde of the lawe maker, must rather be obserued, then the bare wordes taken onely as thei are spokẽ. Christ saieth in the fifth of Matthewe. If thy right eye bee an offence to thee, plucke hym out, and cast hym awaie from thee. If one giue thee a blowe of thy right cheke, tourne to him again thy left cheke. There be some Enuches, that haue gelded them selues from the kingdome of heauen. Goe and sell all that thou haste, and giue it to the poore. He that doeth not take vp his crosse and followe me, is not worthie of me. In all whiche sentences, there is no sutche meanyng, as the bare woordes vttered seme to yeeld. Pluckyng out of the eye, declares an auoiding of al euill occasions: receiuing a blowe vpon the left cheke, commendes vnto vs, modestie, and pacience in aduersitie. Geldyng, signifieth a subduyng of our affections, and taming the foule lust of pleasure vnto the will of rea-

Math. 5.
Math. 19.
Math. 16.

ſon. Goe, and ſell all: declares we ſhould bee liberall, and glad to parte with our goods to the poore and needy. Bearyng the croſſe betokeneth ſufferaunce of all ſorowes and miſeries in this worlde. Now, to proue that the will of the law maker, is none other then I haue ſaied: I maie vſe the teſtimonies of other places in the ſcripture, and compare them with theſe Sentences, and ſo iudge by iuſte examination, and diligente ſearche the true meanyng of the lawe maker.

¶ *Ambiguitie.*

SOmetymes a doubte is made vpon ſome worde or ſentence, when it ſignifieth diuers thynges, or maie diuerſly be taken, whereupon full ofte ariſeth muche contention. The Lawiers lacke no caſes, to fill this parte full of examples. For rather then faile, thei will make doubtes oftentymes, where no noubte ſhould be at all. Is his Leaſe long inough (q^ one): yea ſir, it is very long ſaied a poore houſebande man. Then (q^ he) let me a lone with it, I will finde a hole in it I warrant thee. In all this talke I excepte alwaies the good Lawiers, and I maie well ſpare them, for thei are but a fewe.

Lawiers.

¶ *Probation by thynges like.*

WHen there is no certaine Lawe by expreſſe woordes, vttered for ſome hainous offender: we maie Iudge the offence worthie death, by reherſall of ſome other Lawe, that ſoundeth muche that waie. As thus. The Ciuill Lawe appointeth, that he ſhall bee put in a Sacke, and caſte in the Sea, that killeth his father: well, then he that killeth his mother, ſhould by all reaſon in like ſort be ordered. It is lawfull to haue a Magiſtrate, therefore, it is lawfull to pleade matters before an officer. And thus, though the laſt can not be proued by expreſſe woordes, yet the ſame is founde lawfull by reherſall of the firſte.

¶ *Chalengyng, or refuſing.*

WEe vſe this order, when wee remoue our ſutes from one Courte to an other, as if a manne ſhould appele from the Common place, to the Chauncerie. Or if one ſhould bee called by a wrong name, not to aunſwere vnto it. Or if one ſhould refuſe to aunſwere in the Spirituall Courte, and appele to the Lorde Chauncellour.

¶ The

¶ *The Oration of right or wrong, called otherwise the ſtate Iuridiciall.*

After a deede is well knowen to bee dooen, by ſome one perſone, we goe to the nexte and ſearch whether it be right or wrong. And that is, when the maner of doyng is examined, and the matter tried through reaſonyng, and muche debatyng, whether it be wrongfully doen, or otherwiſe.

¶ *The Diuiſion.*

This ſtate of right or wrõg, is two waies diuided. whereof the one is, when the matter by the owne nature, is defended to be right, without any further ſekyng, called of the *Rhetoricians*, the ſtate abſolute.

The other (vſing little force or ſtrength, to maintain the matter) is, when outwarde helpe is ſought, and by waies vſed to purchaſe fauour, called otherwiſe the ſtate aſſumptiue.

¶ *Places of confirmation for the firſt kinde, are. vij.*

- i. Nature it ſelf.
- ii. Gods Lawe, and mannes Lawe.
- iii. Cuſtome.
- iiij. Equitie.
- v. True dealyng.
- vj. Auncient examples.
- vij. Couenauntes and deedes autentique.

Tullie in his moſte worthie Oration, made in behalfe of *Milo*, declareth that *Milo* ſlue *Clodius* moſte lawfully, whom *Clodius* ſought to haue ſlaine moſte wickedly. For (ſ *Tullie*) if nature haue graffed this in man, if Lawe haue confirmed it, if neceſſitie haue taught it, if cuſtome haue kept it, if Equitie haue mainteined it, if true dealyng hath allowed it, if all common weales haue vſed it, if deedes auncient haue ſealed this vp, that euery creature liuing ſhould fence it ſelf againſt outward violence: no man can thinke that *Milo* hath doen wrong, in killing of *Clodius*, except you thinke, that when men mete with theues, either thei muſte be ſlaine of them, or els condempned of you.

¶ *Places of confirmation for the ſeconde kinde, are. iij.*

Graunting of the fault committed.
Blaming euill companie for it.
Comparing the faulte, and declaring that either thei must haue doen that, or els haue doen worse.
Shifting it from vs, and shewing that we did it vpon commaundement.

Confessing what it is.

Confessing of the faulte, is when the accused persone, graunteth his crime, and craueth pardon therevpon, leauing to aske Iustice, and leauing wholie vnto mercie.

¶ *Confession of the faulte vsed two maner of waies.*

The diuision

THE first is, when one accuseth hymself, that he did it not willingly, but vnwares, and by chaunce.

The seconde is, when he asketh pardon for the faulte doen, considering his seruice to the common weale, deedes heretofore doen, promising amendement of his former euill deede: the which wordes would not be vsed before a Iudge, but before a King, or generall of an armie For the Iudges must giue sentēce according to the Lawe: the King maie forgiue, as aucthour of the Lawe, and hauing power in his hande, maie doe as he shall thinke beste.

Blaming other, how it is saied.

Blaming other for the faulte doen, is when we saie, that the accused persone, would neuer haue doen suche a deede, if other against whom also, this accusation is intended, had not been euill men, and giuen iuste cause of suche a wicked deede.

Comparing the faulte.

Comparing the fault is when we saie, that by slaying an euill man, we haue doen a good deede, cutting awaie the corrupte and rotten member, for preseruation of the whole body. Or thus: some set a whole toune on fire, because their enemies should haue none aduauntage by it. The *Saguntines*, beyng tributary to the Romaines, slue their owne children, burnt their goodes, and fired their bodies, because thei would not be subiect to that cruell *Hanniball*, and lose their allegiaunce, due to the Romaines.

Saguntines

Shifting the fault frō vs.

Shifting it from vs, is when we saie that if other had not set vs on, we would neuer haue attempted such an enterprise. As often tymes the Soldiour saieth, his Capitaines biddyng was his enforcement: the seruaunte thinketh his maisters commaundement, to be a sufficient defence for his discharge.

¶ The

¶ The seconde Booke.

NOw that I haue hetherto set forthe, what *Rhetorique* is, whereunto euery Oratour is moste bound, what the causes be, bothe in their nature and also by nomber, that comprehende euery matter, and what places serue to cõfirme euery cause: I thinke it is moste mete, after the knowledge of all these, to frame an Oration accordynglie, and to shewe at large, by partes of euery Oration (but specially suche as are vsed in Iudgemente) that vnto euery cause, apt partes maie euermore be added. For euery matter hath a diuers beginnyng, neither all controuersies or matters of weight, should alwaies after one sort be rehearsed, nor like reasons vsed, nor one kinde of mouyng affections, occupied before all men, and in euery matter. And therefore, whereas I haue briefly spoken of theim before, I will nowe largely declare theim, and shewe the vse of them in euery matter, that cometh in debate, and is nedefull through reason to be discussed.

¶ An enterannce two waies deuided.

THE firste is called a plaine beginnyng, when the hearer is made apte to giue good eare out of hande, to that whiche shall followe. A beginnyng what it is.

The seconde is a priuie twinyng, or close crepyng in, to win fauour with muche circumstaunce, called insinuation. Insinuation

For in all matters that man taketh in hand, this consideration ought firste to be had, that we first diligently expende the cause, before we go through with it, that we maie be assured whether it be lawfull or otherwise. And not onely this, but also we must aduisedly marke the men, before whom wee speake, the men against whom we speake, and al the circũstaunces which belong vnto the matter. If the matter be honest, godly, and such as of right ought to be well liked, we maie vse an open beginning, and will the hearers to reioyce, and so goe through with our parte. If the cause be lothsome, or suche as will not be well borne with all, but needeth much helpe and fauour of the hearers: it shalbe the speakers parte priuely to get fauour, and by hũble talke to win their good willes. Firste, requiryng theim to giue hym the hearyng, and nexte, not streightly to giue iudgement, but with mercie to mitigate all ri-

gour of the Lawe. Or in a complaint made, whiche the counsell shall grieuously stomacke, to exaggerate it the more, if we see iust cause so let it forwarde. And whereas many often tymes are suspecte to speake thynges of malice, or for hope of gaine, or els for a set purpose, as who should saie, this I can doe: the wisest will euer more cleare them selues from all suche offences, and neuer giue any token so muche as in them lieth, of any light suspicion.

In accusing any persone, it is best to heape all his faultes together, and whereas any thyng semeth to make for him, to extenuate the same to the outermoste. In defendyng any persone, it is wisedome to rehearse all his vertues first and formoste, and with asmuche art as maie be, to wipe awaie such faultes as were laied to his charge. And before all thinges, this would be well marked, that whersoeuer we shall largely talke of any matter, we alwaies so muent and finde out our firste enterance in the cause, that the same be for euer taken, euen from the nature and bowelles therof, that all thinges which shall first be spoken, maie seme to agree with the matter, and not made as a shippe mans hose to serue for euery legge. Now, wheras any long talke is vsed, the beginning therof is either taken of the matter self, or els of the persones that are there present, or els of them against whom the actiō is intended. And because the winning of victorie resteth in three poincts:

The thinges moste meete for euery Oratour.

First in apt teaching the hearers what the matter is, next in getting them to giue good eare, and thirdly in winnyng their fauor: We shall make them vnderstande the matter easely, if first of all we begin, to expounde it plainly and in brief wordes, settyng out the meanyng, make them hackē to our saiynges. And by no meanes better shall the standers by knowe what we saie, and carry awaie that whiche thei heare, then if at the first we couch together, the whole course of our tale in as small roume as wee can, either by defynyng the nature and substaunce of our matter, or els by diuidyng it in an apt order, so that neither the hearers bee troubled, with confoundyng of matter, and heapyng one thing in an others necke, nor yet their memory dulled with ouerthwart rehearsall, and disorderly telling of our tale. Wee shall make the people attentiue, and glad to heare vs, if we will promise them to speake of weightie matters, of wholsome doctrine, suche as thei haue here-

To make the hearers attentiue.

tofore

tofore wāted: yea, if we promise to tell them thinges concernyng either their owne profite, or thadnauncement of their countrie, no doubt we shall haue them diligent hearers. Or els if thei like not to heare weightie affaires, we maie promise thē straunge newes, and perswade them we wil make them laugh, and thinke you not that thei will rather heare a foolishe tale, thā a wise and wholsome counsaill? Demosthenes therefore, seyng at a tyme the fondnesse of the people to be suche, that he could not obtain of them, to heare him speake his minde in an earnest cause, concernyng the wealth of his countrey, required them to tary, and he would tell them a tale of Robin Hode. Whereat thei all staied, and longed to knowe what that should be. He began streight to tell them, of one that had solde his Asse to an other man, whereupon thei both went forth to the next Market towne, haupng with them the saied Asse. And the weather being somwhat hot, the first owner which had now solde his Asse, went of that side the Asse whiche kept him best from the heate. The other being now the owner & in full possession, would not suffer that, but required hym to giue place, and suffer hym to take the best cōmodity of his own Asse that he could haue, whereat the other answered and saied, naie by sainct Marie sir you serue me not so, I sold you the Asse, but I sold you not the shadowe of the Asse, & therfore picke you hence. When the people heard this, thei laughed apace, and likte it very well. Whereupon Demosthenes haupng won them together, by this merye tope rebuked their folly, that wer so slacke to heare good thinges, and so redy to here a tale of a Tub, and thus hauing them attentiue, perswaded with thē to heare him in matters of great importaūce, the which otherwise he could neuer haue doen, if he had not takē this waie in him.

Demosthenes tale of the Asses shadowe.

We shall get the good willes of our hearers fower maner of waies, either beginnyng to speake of our selues, or els of our aduersaries, or els of the people and compante present, or last of all, if we begin of the matter it self, and so goe through with it. Wee shall get fauour for our owne sakes, if we shall modestly set forth our bounden dueties, and declare our seruice doen, without al suspition of vaunting, either to the common weale, as in seruyng either in the warres abroade, or els in bearing some office at home, concerning the tranquillitie of our cōtrie: or in helping our frēds

To gette the hearers good will.

kinfolkes, and poore neighbours, to declare our goodneſſe doen heretofore towardes theim: and laſtly, if wee ſhewe without all oſtentation, aſwell our good willes towardes the Iudges there, as alſo pleaſures doen for them in tymes paſte to the outermoſte of our power. And if any thyng ſeme to let our cauſe by any miſreporte, or euill behauiour of our partes heretofore: beſt it were in moſte humble wiſe to ſeke fauour, and ſleightly to aduoide al ſuch offences laied to our charge.

Wee ſhall get fauour by ſpeakyng of our aduerſaries, if wee ſhall make ſuch reporte of them, that the hearers ſhall either hate to heare of them, or vtterly enuie them, or els altogether deſpiſe theim. Wee ſhall ſone make our aduerſaries to be lothed, if wee ſhewe and ſet forthe ſome naughtie deede of theirs, and declare how cruelly, how vily, and howe maliciouſly thei haue vſed other men heretofore.

We ſhall make them to be enuied, if we repoꝛte vnto the Iudges, that they beare theim ſelues haulte, and ſtoute vppon their wealthie frendes, and oppreſſe poore menne by might, not regardyng their honeſtie, but ſekyng alwaies by hooke and crooke, to robbe poore men of their Farmes, Leaſes, and money. And by the waie, declare ſome one thyng that they haue doen, whiche honeſt eares would ſcant abide to heare.

We ſhall make them to bee ſet naught by, if we declare what luſkes thei are, howe vnthriftely thei liue, howe thei doe nothyng from daie to daie, but eate, drinke, and ſlepe, rather ſekyng to liue like beaſtes, then mindyng to liue like menne, either in profityng their countrie, or in tendering their owne commoditie, as by right they ought to doe.

We ſhall get good will, by ſpeakyng of the Iudges and hearers: if wee ſhall commende their worthie dooynges, and praiſe their iuſte dealyng, and faithfull execution of the Lawe, and tell them in what eſtimation the whole countrey hath them, for their vpright iudgyng and determinyng of matters, and therefore in this cauſe nedes muſt it be, that they muſt aunſwere their former doinges, and iudge ſo of this matter, as all good men haue opinion they will doe.

We ſhall finde fauour by ſpeakyng of the matter, if in handelyng

lyng our owne cause, we commende it accordingly, and dispraise the attempt of our aduersary, extenuatyng all his chief purposes, so muche as shalbe necessarie.

Now resteth for me to speake of the other parte of Enteraūce into an Oration, whiche is called a close, or priuie gettyng of fauour when the cause is daungerouse, and can not easely be hearde without displeasure. Insinuation

A priuie beginnyng, or creppyng in otherwise called Insinuation must then, and not els be vsed, when the Iudge is greaued with vs, and our cause hated of the hearers.

The cause selfe oftentimes is not liked for three diuerse causes, if either the matter selfe be vnhoneste, and not meete to bee vttered before an audience, or els if the Iudge hym selfe by a former tale be perswaded to take parte against vs, or last if at that tyme we are forced to speake, when the Iudge is wery with hearyng of other. For the Iudge him selfe beyng wery by hearyng, will bee much more greued if any thing be spoken either ouermuch, or els against his liking. Yea who seeth not that a wery man will sone mislike a right good matter? If the matter bee so hainouse that it can not be hearde without offence, (as if I should take a mannes parte, who were generally hated) wisedome were to let him goe, and take some other whom all menne liked: or if the cause were thought not honeste, to take some other in stede therof which were better liked, till they were better prepared to heare the other: so that euermore nothing should be spoke at the first, but that which might please the Iudge, and not to be acknowen once to thinke of that, which yet we mind moste of al to perswade. Therfore, when the hearers are somwhat calmed, we maie enter by little and little into the matter, and saie that those thinges, which our aduersary doeth mislike in the persone accused, we also doe mislike thesame.

And when the hearers are thus wonne, we maie saie that all which was saied nothing toucheth vs, and that we mind to speake nothing at all against our aduersaries, neither this waie nor that waie. Neither were it wisedome openly to speake against theim, which are generally well esteemed and taken for honeste men. And yet it were not amisse for the furtheraunce of our owne causes, closely to speake our fantasie, & so, streight to aulter their hartes.

Yea and to tell the Judges the like in a like matter, that such and such iudgement hath been geuen: And therefore at this time, considerynge the same case, and the same necessitie, like iudgement is looked for. But if the aduersarie haue so tolde his tale, that the Judge is wholly bent to giue sentence with hym, and that it is well knowen, vnto what reasons the Judge moste learned, and was perswaded: we maie first promise to weaken that, which the aduersarie hath made moste strong for hymself, and confute that parte, whiche the hearers did moste esteme, and beste of all like. Or els we maie take aduauntage, of some parte of our aduersaries tale, and talke of that first, whiche he spake laste: or els begin so, as though wee doubted what were beste firste to speake, or to what parte it were moste reason, first of all to aunswere, wonderyng and takyng GOD to witnesse, at the straungenesse of his reporte, and confirmation of his cause. For when the standers by, perceiue that the aunswere (whom the aduersaries thought in their mynde, was wholly abashed) feareth so little the obiections of his aduersary, and is readie to aunswere *Ab omnia quare*, with a bolde countenaunce: Thei will thinke that thei them selues, rather gaue rathe credite, and were ouerlight in beleeuyng the firste tale: then that he, whiche nowe aunswereth in his owne cause, speaketh without ground, or presumeth vpon a stomack to speake for hym selfe, without iuste consideration.

But if the tyme be so spent, and the tale so long in tellyng that all men be almoste weried to heare any more: then we must make promise at the firste to be very shorte, and to lappe vp our matter in fewe wordes.

Wirthe makyng good at the beginnyng.

And if tyme maie so serue, it were good when men be wearied to make them somwhat merye, and to begin with some pleasaunt tale, to take an occasion to iest wittely, vpon some thyng then presently doen.

Straunge thynges some time needfull to be tolde at the firste.

Or if the tyme will not serue for pleasaunt tales, it were good to tell some straunge thyng, some terrible wonder, that thei all maie quake at the onely hearyng of the same. For, like as when a mannes stomache is full, and can brooke no more meate, he maie stirre his appetite, either by some Tarte sawce, or els quicken it some what by some sweete dishe: Euen so when the auditorie is

wearied

wearied with weighbie affaires, some straunge wonders maie call vp their spirites, or els some merie tale maie cheare their beaute lookes.

And assuredly, it is no small cunnyng to moue the hartes of menne, either to mirthe, or sadnesse: for he that hath sutche skill, shall not lightly faile of his purpose, what soeuer matter he taketh in hande.

Thus haue I taught what an enteraūce is, and how it should be vsed. Notwithstandyng, I thinke it not amisse, often to rehearse this one poinct, that euermore the beginnyng be not ouermuche laboured, nor curiously made, but rather apte to the purpose, sempyng vpon present occasion, euermore to take place, and so to bee deuised, as though wee speake altogether, without any greate studie, frampng rather our tale to good reason, then our tongue to vaine paintyng of the matter.

In all which discourse, whereas I haue framed all the lessons and euery enteraunce properly, to serue for pleading at the barre: yet assuredly, many of theim maie well helpe those, that preache Gods truth, and exhort mē in open assemblies to vpright dealing. Enteraunces apte to the purpose.

And no doubte, many of them haue much néede to knowe this Arte, that the rather their tale maie hang together, whereas oftentimes thei beginne as muche from the matter, as it is betwixt Douer and Barwike, where at some take pitie, and many for wearinesse can skant abide their beginnyng, it is so long or they speake any thyng to the purpose. Therefore, the learned Clarkes of this our tyme, haue thought it good, that all Preachers should take their beginnyng, vppon the occasion of sutche matter, as is there written, declaryng why and wherefore, and vpon what consideration sutche woordes were in those daies so spoken, that the reason giuen of sutche talke then vtterde, might serue well to beginne their Sermon. Or els to gather some seuerall sentence at the firste, whiche briefly comprehended the whole matter followyng, or els to beginne with some apte similitude, example, or witte saiyng. Or lastly, to declare what wente before, and so to shewe that whiche followeth after. Yea, sometymes to beginne lamentably, with an vnfained bewailyng of synne, and a terrible declaryng of Goddes threates: Sometymes, to take occasion of Enteraunces apte for Preachers.

a matter newly doen, or of the company there present, so that all waies the beginnyng be aunswerable to the matter folowyng.

¶ Of Narration.

After the preface & first Enterance, the matter must be opened, and euery thyng liuely tolde, that the hearers maie fully perceiue what we goe aboute, now in reportyng an acte doen, or vtteryng the state of a controuersie, wee must vse these lessons, whereof the firste is to bee shorte, the next to be plaine, and the thirde is to speake likely, and with reason, that the hearers maie remember, vnderstande, and beleue the rather suche thinges as shalbe saied.

Narration.
i. Breefe.
ii. Plaine.
iii. Probable

And first whereas we should bee shorte in tellyng the matter as it lyeth, the best is to speake no more than needes we must, not rauyng it from the bottome, or tellyng bytales suche as rude people full ofte doe, nor yet touchyng euery poinct, but tellyng the whole in a grosse summe. And where as many matters shall neither harme vs, nor yet doe vs good beyng brought in, and reported by vs: it were well doen not to medle with them at all, nor yet twise to tell one thing, or reporte that which is odiouse to be tolde againe. Notwithstanding this one thing would be wel cõsidered, that in seking to be short we be not obscure. And therfore to make our matter plain, that all maie vnderstande it, the best were first and formest to tell euery thing in order so much as is nedefull, obseruyng both the tyme, the place, the maner of doing, and the circumstances thereunto belonging. Wherein good heede would be had that nothing be doubtfully spoken, whiche maie haue a double meanyng, nor yet any thing vttered that maie make asmuche against vs as with vs, but that all our woordes runne to confirme wholly our matter. And surely if the matter be not so plainly told that all maie vnderstande it, we shall doe little good in the rest of our reporte. For in other partes of the Oration if we be somwhat darke, it is the lesse harme, wee maie bee more plaine in an other place. But if the Narration, or substaunce of the tale be not well perceiued, the whole Oratiõ besides is darkened altogether. For to what ende should we goe about to proue that, whiche the hearers knowe not what it is? Neither can we haue any libertie to tell our tale againe after we haue once tolde it, but must streight goe

Breuitie. how it might be vsed.

Plainesse, how it might be vsed.

gee forthe and confirme that whiche we haue saied, how soeuer it is. Therefore the reportyng of our tale, maie some appere plain if we first expresse our minde in plaine woordes, and not seke these roperipe termes, whiche betraie rather a foole, then commende a wise man: and againe, if we orderly obserue circumstaunces, and tell one thyng after an other, from tyme to tyme, not tomblyng one tale in an others necke, tellyng halfe a tale, and so leapyng it rawe, hackyng and hemmyng, as though our wittes and our senses were a woll gatheryng. Neither should we suffre our tongue, to run before our witte, but with muche warenesse, set forthe our matter, and speake our minde euermore with iudgement.

Probable how it maie be vsed.

Wee shall make our saiynges appere likely, and probable: if we speake directly as the cause requireth, if wee shewe the verie purpose of all the deuise, and frame our inuention, accordyng as wee shall thynke theim moste willyng to allowe it, that haue the hearyng of it.

Narration in iudgemēt.

The Narration reported in matters of iudgement, shall seme to stande with reason, if wee make our talke to agree with the place, tyme, thyng, and persone, if we shall shewe that what soeuer we saie, the same by all likelyhodes is true, if our coniectures, tokens, reasons, and argumentes be sutche that neither in them, there appere any fablyng, nor yet that any thyng was spoken, whiche might of right otherwise be taken, and that we not onely speake this, but that diuers other of good credite will stande with vs in defence of the same, all which reportyng maie some be liked, and the tale so tolde, maie bee thought very reasonable. Yea, we shall make our doynges seme reasonable, if we frame our woorke to natures will, and seke none other meanes but sutche onely, as the honest and wise haue euer vsed and allowed, byngyng in and blamyng the euill alwaies, for suche faultes chiefly, wherevnto thei moste of all are like to be subiecte, as to accuse a spende all, of theft: a whoremonger, of aduiterie: a rash quareller, of mãslaughter: and so of other. Sometymes it is good and profitable, to bee merie and pleasaunt, in reportyng a matter, against some maner of man, and in some cause. For, neither against all menne that offende, nor yet against all matters, should the wittie alwaies vse iestyng. And now, for those that shall tell their minde, in the other

kindes

Narration in praisyng and counsell geuyng.

kindes of Oratorie, as in the kinde Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue, in exhortyng, or perswadyng: the learned haue thought mete that thei must also call, the whole somme of their matter to one poinct, that the rather the hearers maie better perceiue, whereat thei leauell all their reasons. As if a Clarke doe take in hande to declare Gods heste, he will after his enteraunce, tell what thyng is chiefly purposed in that place, and next after, shewe other thinges annexed thereunto, whereby not onely the hearers maie get greate learnyng, and take muche profite of his doctrine: but he hymself maie knowe the better what to saie, what order to vse, and when to make an ende.

Preachers what order they vse.

Some doe vse after the litterall sense, to gather a mistically vnderstandyng, and to expounde the saiynges spiritually, makyng their Narration altogether of thynges heauenlie. Some rehearsing a text particularly spoken, applie the same generally vnto all states, enlargyng the Narration moste Godly, by comparyng woordes long agoe spoken, with thynges and matters that are presently doen. Notwithstandyng, the auncient fathers, because thei did onely expounde the Scriptures for the moste parte, made no artificiall Narration, but vsed to followe suche order, as the plaine text gaue them. So that if euery sentence were plainly opened to the hearers, thei went not much farther, sauyng that when any woorde gaue them occasion to speake of some vice, thei would largely saie their minde in that behalfe: as *Chrisostome* and *Basile* haue doen with other.

The ware markyng, and heedie obseruation of tyme, place, and persone, maie teache all men (that be not palte teachyng) how to frame their Narration in all controuersies, that are called in question, and therefore, when present occasion shall giue good instruction, what neede more lessons? And especially, seing Nature teacheth what is comely, and what is not comely for all tymes.

Yea, what tell I now of suche lessons, seyng GOD hath raised sutche worthie Preachers in this our tyme, that their Godly and learned doynges, maie be a moste iuste example for all other to followe: aswell for their liuyng, as for their learnyng: I feare me, the preceptes be more in nomber, then will bee well kept, or followed this yeare.

¶ *Of Diuiſion.*

After our tale is tolde, and the hearers haue well learned what we meane, the nexte is to repoꝛte wherein the aduerſarie and we can not agree, and what it is, wherein wee doe agree. And then to parte out ſuche principall poinctes, whereof we purpoſe fully to debate, and laie them out to bee knowen: that the hearers maie plainly ſee, what wee will ſaie, and perceiue at a woꝛde the ſubſtaunce of our meanyng. Now, *Tullie* would not haue a diuiſion to bee made, of, oꝛ aboue thꝛee partes at the moſte, noꝛ yet leſſe then thꝛee neither, if neede ſo require. Foꝛ if we haue thꝛee chiefe grounde, whereupon to reſt, applyng all our argumentes thereunto, we ſhall both haue matter inough to ſpeake of, the hearers ſhall with eaſe underſtande our meanyng, and the whole Oꝛation ſhall ſone bee at an ende. Notwithſtandyng, this leſſon muſt not ſo curiouſly be kepte, as though it were ſinne to make the diuiſion of fower, oꝛ fiue partes: but it was ſpoken foꝛ this end, that the diuiſion ſhould be made of as fewe as maie be poſſible, that men maie the better carye it awaie, and the repoꝛter with moꝛe eaſe, maie remember what he hath to ſaie. Now in praiſing, oꝛ diſpraiſing, in perſwading, oꝛ diſſwading, diuiſions muſt alſo be vſed. As if one would enueigh againſt thoſe women, that will not giue their owne childꝛen ſucke, he might vſe this diuiſion. Where as women commonly put their childꝛen foꝛthe to nurſyng, I will proue, that it is bothe againſt the lawe of Nature, and alſo againſt Gods holy will: againe I will ſhewe that it is harmefull, both foꝛ the childes bodie, and alſo foꝛ his witte, laſtlie I will proue that the mother ſelf, falleth into muche ſickeneſſe thereby.

Diuiſion of thꝛee partes at the moſte.

Women rebuken that nurſe not their owne childꝛen.

Firſt, Nature giueth milke to the woman, foꝛ none other ende but that ſhe ſhould beſtowe it vpon her childe. And we ſee beaſtes feede their youngones, and why ſhould not women? GOD alſo commaunded all women, to bꝛyng vp their childꝛen.

Againe, the childꝛens bodies ſhall be ſo affected, as the Milke is whiche thei receiue. Nowe, if the Nurſe bee of an euill complection, oꝛ haue ſome hid diſeaſe, the childe ſuckyng of her bꝛeaſt, muſte needes take parte with her. And if that bee true, whiche the learned dooe ſaie, that the temperature of the minde folowes the

the constitution of the bodie, needes must it bee, that if the Nurse be of a noughtie nature, the childe must take thereafter. But if it bee, the Nurse bee of a good complexion, of an honeste behauiour (whereas contrarywise, Maidens that haue made a scape, are commonly called to be Nurses) yet can it not be, but that the mothers milke should be muche more naturall for the childe, then the milke of a straunger. As by experience, let a manne be long vsed to one kinde of drinke, if the same man chaunge his aire, and his drinke, he is like to mislike it. Lastly for the mothers, howe are thei troubled with sore breastes, besides other diseases that happen through plentie of milke, the whiche Physicians can tell, and women full oft haue felte.

Likewise in speakyng of fastyng, I might vse this diuision, First, it is Godly to faste, because the spirite is more free, and apter for a good woorke. Againe, it is wholsome, because thereby euill humours are wasted, and many diseases either clerely put awaie, or much abated of their tirannie. Lastly it is profitable, because men spende lesse money, the lesse banquetyng that thei vse. Therefore, if manne loue either to bee wise, Godly, healthfull, or wealthie, lette them vse fastyng, and forbeare excesse.

Now vpon a deuision, there might also be made a subdiuision, as where I saie it is Godly to faste, I might deuide Godlinesse into the hearyng of Gods woorde, into prayeng deuoutly, and charitable dealyng with all the worlde.

Againe, speakyng of health, I might saie that the whole body is not onely more lustie with moderate fasting, but also more apt for all assaies. The learned man studieth better when he fasteth, then when he is full. The counseler heareth causes with lesse pain beyng emptie, then he shalbe able after a full gorge.

Againe, whereas the fiue senses bryng vs to the knowledge of many thinges: the more apte that euery one is, the more pleasure thei bryng euer with them. The eyes see more clerely, the eares heare more quickely, the tongue rowleth more roundly, and tasteth thynges better, our felyng is more perfite: and the nose smelleth euill sauours the sooner.

Philosophie is deuided, into the knowledge of thinges naturall, thinges morall, and into that arte, whiche by reason findeth

out the truthe, commonly called *Logique*. Now, of these three partes of Philosophie, I might make other three subdiuisions, and largely set them out. But these maie suffice for this tyme.

¶ *Of Propositions.*

Quintilian willeth, that straight and immediatly after the Narration, there should also bee vsed suche sentences as might be full of pithe, and containe in them the substance of muche matter, the rather that the hearers maie be stirred vpon the onely report of some sentencious saiyng, or weightie text in the Lawe. As in speakyng largely against extortion, one might after his reasons applied to the purpose, bryng in a pithie and sentencious propositiō, as thus. Those handes are euill that scratch out the eyes: and what other do they that by force rob their christian brethren? Wo be to that realme, where might ouergoeth right. Or thus. When rage doeth rule, and reason doth waite, what good man can hope to liue long in rest. Also an acte of a Realme, maie well serue to make a proposition. As thus. The lawe is plain: that man shall die as an offender, what soeuer he be that breaketh vp an other mannes house, and seeketh by spoile to vndoe his neighbour. Now here is no man that doubteth, but that thou hast doen this deede, therfore what nedes any more, but that thou must suffer accordyng to the Lawe? In diuidyng a matter, Propositions are vsed and orderly applied, for the better settyng forth of the cause. As if I should speake of thankfulnesse, I might first shewe what is thankfulnesse, next how nedefull it is, and last how commendable and profitable it is vniuersally: Thankfulnes is a kind of remembryng good will shewed, and an earnest desire to requite the same. Without thankfulnesse no man would do for an other. The brute beastes haue these properties, and therefore man can not want them, without his greate rebuke. Some propositiōs are plain spoken, without any cause or reason added therunto. As thus. I haue charged this man with felonie, as you haue heard, but he denieth it, therefore iudge you it I praie you. Sometymes a cause added, after the aledgyng of a proposition. As thus, I haue accused this man of felonie, because he tooke my purse by the hie waie side, and therefore I call for iustice. The propositiōs might bee gathered, nexte and immediatly after the rehearsall of

Thankfulnesse, what it is.

Deuision of propositiōs.

any cause, and beautifie muche the matter, beeyng either alledged with the cause annexed, or els beyng plainly spoken, without giuyng any reason at all.

¶ *Of confirmation of matters in iudgement.*

WHen we haue declared the cheef pointes, whereunto we purpose to referre all our reasons, we muste heape matter, and finde out argumentes to confirme the same to the vttermoste of our power, makyng firste the strongest reasons that wee can, and nexte after, gatheryng all the probable causes together, that beyng in one heape, thei maie seme strong and of greate waighe. And whatsoeuer the aduersarie hath saied against vs, to answere thereunto as tyme and place maie beste serue. That if his reasons bee light, and more good maie be dooen in confutyng his, then in confirmyng our owne: it were beste of all to sette vpon hym, and put awaie by Arte, all that he hath fondly saied without wit. For prouyng the matter, and searchyng out the substaunce or nature of the cause, the places of *Logique* muste helpe to sette it forward. But when the persone shall bee touched, and not the matter, we muste seeke els where, and gather these places together.

Causes of confirmatiō twoo waies vsed.

i. The name.
ii. The maner of liuyng.
iii. Of what house he is, of what Countrey, and of what peres.
iiii. The wealthe of the man.
v. His behauour or daiely exercyng with thinges.
vi. What Nature he hath.
vii. Whereunto he is moste giuen.
viii. What he purposeth from tyme to tyme.
ix. What he hath dooen heretofore.
x. What hath befalne vnto hym heretofore.
xi. What he hath confessed, or what he hath to saie for hymself.

IN well examinyng of all these matters muche maie be saied, and greate likelihoodes maie be gathered either to or fro, the whiche places I vsed heretofore, whē I speake of matters in Iudgement against the accused Soldiour. How in

tryng

triyng the trothe, by reasons gathered of the matter: wee muste first marke what was doen at that tyme by the suspected person, whē suche and suche offences were committed. Yea, what he did before this acte was doen. Againe, the tyme must be marked, the place, the maner of doyng, and what harte he bare hym. As the oportunitie of doyng, and the power he had to doe this deede. The whiche all set together shall either acquit hym, or finde hym giltie. These argumentes serue to confirme a matter in iudgement, for any hainous offence. But in the other causes whiche are occupied, either in praisyng, or dispraisyng, in perswadyng, or disswadyng, the places of confirmation be suche as are before rehearsed, as when we commende a thing, to proue it thus.

Honest.
Profitable.
Easie.
Necessarie.
} to be doen.

AND so of other in like maner, or els to vse in stede of these the places of *Logique*. Therefore when we goe about to confirme any cause, we maie gather these grōdes aboue rehearsed, and euen as the case requireth, so frame our reasōs. In confutyng of causes the like maie bee had, as we vsed to proue: if wee take the contrary of thesame. For as thinges are alledged, so thei maie bee wrested, and as houses are builded, so thei bee ouerthrowen. What though many coniectures bee gathered, and diuers matters framed to ouerthrowe the defendant: yet witt maie finde out bywaies to escape, and suche shiftes maie bee made, either in auoidyng the danger by plain deniall, or els by obiections, and reboundyng againe of reasons made, that small harme shall tourne to the accused persone, though the presumptions of his offence be greate, and be thought by good reason to be faultie. The places of *Logique* as I saied, can not bee spared for the confirmation of any cause. For who is he that in confirmyng a matter, wil not knowe the nature of it, the cause of it, the effecte of it, what is agreyng thereunto, what likenesse there is betwixt that and the other thinges, what examples maie be vsed, what is contrary, and what can be said against it. Therfore I wishe ẏ euery mā should desire, & seke to haue his *Logique* perfit, before he loke to profit in

Confutation

Places of Logique moste nede full.

Rhetorique, conſiderynge the ground and confirmation of cauſes, is for the moſte part gathered out of *Logique*.

¶ The Concluſion.

Concluſion, what it is.

A Concluſion, is the handeſomely lappyng vp together, and briefe heapyng of all that whiche was ſaid before, ſtirryng the hearers by large vtterance, and plentifull gatheryng of good matter, either the one waie or the other.

Concluſion of twoo ſortes.

There are twoo partes of a concluſion, the one reſteth in gatheryng together breefly, all ſuche argumentes as were before rehearſed, reportyng the ſomme of them in as fewe woordes as can bee, and yet after ſuche a ſorte, that muche varietie bee vſed, bothe when the rehearſall is, as alſo after the matter is fullie reported. For if the repetition ſhould be naked, and onely ſet forthe in plaine woordes, without any change of ſpeache, or ſhift of *Rhetorique*: neither ſhould the hearers take pleaſure, nor yet the matter take effect. Therefore when the Orator ſhall touch any place, whiche maie giue iuſte cauſe to make an exclamation, and ſtirre the hearers to be ſorie, to be glad, or to be offended: it is neceſſarie to vſe Art to the vttermoſte. Or when we ſhall come to the repeatyng of an hainous acte, and the maner thereof: he maie ſette the Iudges on fire, and heate them earneſtly againſte the wicked offender. Thus in repeatyng, art maie be vſed, and next with the onely rehearſall, matters maie be handſomely gathered vp together.

The other part of a concluſion, reſteth either in augmentyng and vehemently enlargyng that, whiche before was in fewe woordes ſpoken to ſett the Iudge or hearers in a heate: or els to mittigate, and aſſage diſpleaſure conceiued with muche lamentyng of the matter, and mouyng the thereby the rather to ſhewe mercie. Amplification is of twoo ſortes, whereof I will ſpeake more at large in the next chapiter. The one reſteth in woordes, the other in matter. Suche woordes muſte bee vſed as bee of greate weight, wherein either is ſome Metaphore, or els ſome large vnderſtandyng is conteined. Yea, woordes that fill the mouthe and haue a ſound with them, ſet forthe a matter verie well. And ſometymes woordes twiſe ſpoken, make the matter appeare greater.

Again, when we firſt ſpeake our mynde in lowe woordes, and after

after vse weightier, the faulte likewise seemeth the greater. As when one had killed a gentleman, thus might an other Amplifie his mynde. For one slaue to strike an other, were worthie of punishemente, but what deserueth that wretche, whiche not onely striketh a maune, but striketh a gentlemen, and not onely striketh a gentleman, but cowardly killeth a gentleman, not giuyng hym one wounde, but giuyng hym twentie. To kille any man in suche sort deserueth death, but what saie you of him that not onely killeth him so, but also hangeth him moste spitefully vpō a tree. And yet not content with that, but scourgeth hym and mangleth hym when he is dedde, and laste of all maketh a ieste of his most naughtie deede, leauyng a writing there about the dedde maines necke. Now then, seeyng his crueltie is suche, that the onely kilyng can not contente his Deuilishe deede, and moste dedly malice: I aske it for Gods loue, and in the waie of Justice, that this wicked Deuill maie suffer worthie death, and bee punished to the example of all other. Amplifyng of the matter consisteth in heapyng and enlargyng of those places, whiche serue for confirmation of a matter. As the definition, the cause, the consequente, the contrary, the example, and suche other.

Againe, amplification maie bee vsed when we make the lawe to speake, the dedde persone to make his complaint, the countrey to crie out of suche a deede. As if some worthie man were caste awaie, to make the countrey saie thus: if Englande could speake, would she not make suche and suche cōplaintes: If the walles of suche a citee or toune had a tongue, would thei not talke thus and thus: And to be shorte, al suche thinges should be vsed, to make the cause seeme greate, whiche concerne God, to common weale, or the Lawe of Nature. For if any of these three bee hindered, wee haue a large feelde to walke in. In praisyng or dispraisyng, wee must exaggerate those places towardes the ende, whiche make menne wounder at the straungenesse of any thyng. In perswardyng or dissuadyng the rehearsall of commodities, and heappyng of examples together increase muche the matter. It were a great labour to tell all the commodities, and all the properties whiche belong vnto the conclusion. For suche art maie be vsed in this behalfe, that though the cause bee verie euill, yet a wittie man maie

get the ouerhande, if he be cumpyng in his facultie.

Athenians forbad conclusions.

The *Athenians* therefore did straightly forbidd by a Lawe, to vse any conclusion of the cause, or any enterance of the matter to winne fauour. *Cicero* did herein so excell, that lightly he gotte the victorie in all matters that euer he tooke in hande. Therefore as muste praise ariseth by this part, so I doubt not but the wittiest will take moste paines in this behalfe, and the honest for euer will vse the defence of moste honest matters. Weapons maie be abused for murder, and yet weapons are onely ordeined for safgarde.

¶ *Of the figure Amplification.*

Amplificatiō

Among all the figures of *Rhetorique*, there is no one that so muche helpeth forward an oration, and beautifieth the same with suche delightefull ornamentes, as doeth amplification. For if either wee purpose to make our tale appeare vehemente, to seme pleasaunt, or to be well stored with copie: needes muste it be that here we seeke helpe, where helpe chiefly is to be had, and not els where. And now because none shall better bee able to amplifie any matter, then those whiche beste can praise, or moste dispraise any thyng here vppon yearth, I thinke it needefull first of all, to gather suche thinges together whiche helpe best this waie. Therfore in praisyng or dispraisyng, we muste be well stored euer with suche good sentences, as are often vsed in this our life, the whiche thoughe art beeyng increased, helpe muche to perswasion. As for example, where it is saied (gentle behauiour winneth good will, and clearely quencheth hatered) I might in commendyng a noble gentleman for his lowlinesse, declare at large how commendable and how profitable a thyng gentle behauiour is, and of the other side, how hatefull and how harmefull a proude disdainfull manne is, and how beastlie a nature he hath, that beyng but a man, thinketh hymself better then any other man is, and also ouer good to haue a matche or fellowe in this life. As thus, if lowlinesse and Charitie maintaine life, what a beaste is he that thoughe hatered will purchase death? If God warneth vs to loue one an other, and learne of hym to bee gentle, because he was gentle and humble in harte: How cruell are thei that dare withstande his Commaundement? If the Subiectes rebell against his kyng, were erie, with

Lowlinesse.

with one voice hang hym, hang hym, and shall wee not thinke hym worthie the vilest death of all, that beeyng a creature, contempneth his Creatour, beeyng a mortall manne, neglecteth his Heauenly maker, beeyng a vile moulde of claie, setteth light by so mightie a GOD, and euer liuyng Ryng? Beastes and birdes without reason loue one an other, thei shroude and thei flocke together, and shall menne endued with suche giftes, hate his euen christian, and eschue companie? When shepe doe straie, or cattell doe striue one against an other, there are dogges readie to call thē in, yea, thei will bite them (as it hath been full often seen) if twoo fight together: and shall manne want reason, to barke against his leude affections, or at the leaste shall he haue none to checke hym for his faultes, and force hym to forgiue? Likewise if you would rebuke one that giueth eare to backebiters and flaunderers, you muste declare what a greate mischeef an euill tongue is, what a poison it is, yea, what a murder to take a mannes good name frō hym. Wee coumpt hym worthie death, that poisoneth a mannes bodie, and shall not he suffer the like paine, that poisoneth a mannes honestie, and seeketh to obscure and darken his estimation? Menne be well excepted emong the wise, not for their bodies, but for their vertues. Now take awaie the thyng whereby men are commended: and what are menne other then brute beastes? For beastes doe nothyng againste Nature, but he that goeth againste honestie, thesame manne fighteth against Nature, whiche would not all men should liue well. When a man is killed secretly, wee aske iudgemente for the offendour, and shall thei escape without iudgement, that couertly murder a mannes soule? That separate hym from God, that iudge hym to helle, whose life hath euer been moste heauenly? When our purse is piked, wee make straight searche for it againe, and imprison the offender, and shall wee not seke recouerie of our good name, when euill tongues haue stained it? If our fame bee more prise, then is either Golde or Grotes, what meane wee to bee so carelesse in keepyng the one, and so carefull in keepyng the other? Fonde is his purpose, that beeyng in the Raine, casteth his garment in a bushe, and standeth naked hym self, for sauyng the glosse of his gaie coate. And yet what other thyng doe thei, that esteme the losse of money for great lacke

Backbiting

and compt not the losse of their honestie for any want at all: Thus we see, that from vertues and vice, suche amplifications maie be made, and no doubte he that can praise, or dispraise any thyng plentifully, is able moste copiously to exaggerate any matter.

Sentences gathered to helpe amplification.

Reuengement forbidden.

Againe, sentences gathered or heaped together, commende muche the matter. As if one should saie, Reuengemente belongeth to God alone, and thereby exhorte menne to pacience. He might bryng in these sentences with hym, and giue greate cause of muche matter. No man is hurte but of hym self, that is to saie: aduersitie or wrong sufferyng is no harme to hym that hath a constant harte, and liues vpright in all his doynges.

He is more harmed that doeth wrong, then he that hath suffered wrong.

He is the stouter that contemneth, then he is that committeth wrong.

Yea, he gaineth not a little, that had rather suffer mutche losse, then trie his right by contention.

Gaine got by fraude, is harme and no gaine.

There is no greater victorie, then for manne to rule his affections.

It is a greater matter to ouercome anger, then to winne a fortresse or tower.

There is no greater token of a noble harte, then to contemne wrong.

He that requiteth euill for euill, through hatered of an euill man, is made euill hymself, and therefore worthie to be hated.

He that contemneth his enemie in battaile, is compted a good man of warre, and a wise.

He that requiteth good for euill, is an Angell of God.

He that myndeth reuengement, is at the nexte doore to manslaughter.

God is moued with nothyng sooner to forgiue vs our offences, then if we forsake, and forgiue one an other.

The requityng of iniuries, hath no ende.

Strife is beste ended through pacience.

Anger is a madnesse, differyng from it in this poincte onely, that anger is short and tarieth not long, madnesse abideth still.

It

It is a folie to ſuffer the ſome of a horſe, or the ſtrikyng of his foote, and not abide any thyng that a foole doeth, or a nonghtie diſpoſed fellowe ſpeaketh.

No man truſteth a dronkarde: and yet ſeyng the dronkennelle of rage, and madnelle of anger, are muche more daungerous then ſurfettyng with wine: he doeth fooliſhely that truſteth his owne witte any thyng, when he is in a rage.

Good deedes ſhould alwaies bee remembred, wrong doyng ſhould ſone be forgiuen, and ſone be forgotten.

Againe for liberalitie, theſe ſentences might ſerue. Liberalitie commended with heapes of ſentences.

It is the propertie of a God, to helpe man.

He hath receiued a good turne by giuyng, that hath beſtowed his liberalitie vpon a worthie man.

He giueth twiſe, that giueth ſone and therefully.

God loueth the glad giuer.

It is a poinct of liberalitie, ſometyme to loſe a good tourne.

He that giueth to hym that will euill vſe it, giueth no good thyng but an euill thyng.

Nothyng is more ſafe laied vp, then is that whiche is beſtowed vpon good folke.

Be not afraied to ſowe good fruite.

Nothyng is better giuen to Chriſt, then is that whiche is giuen to the poore.

No one man is borne for hym ſelf.

He is vnworthie to haue, that hath onely for hymſelf.

The thirde kinke of amplification, is when wee gather ſuche ſentences as are commonly ſpoken, or els vſe to ſpeake of ſuche thynges as are notable in this like. Of the firſt, theſe maie be exāples. In lamentyng the miſerie of Wardſhippes, I might ſaie, it is not for nought, ſo commonly ſaied: I will handle you like a Warde. She is a Neppe mother to me, that is to ſaie, ſhe is not a naturall mother: who is worſe ſhod then the Shoomakers wife: That is to ſaie: gentlemens children full oft are kept but meanely. Trotte ſire, and trotte dame, how ſhould the Fole amble, that is, when bothe father and mother were nought, it is not like that the child will proue good, without an eſpeciall grace of God. Prouerbes alledged helpe amplification.

Likerihe of tongue, light of taile: That is, he or ſhe that will

fare daintely, will ofte liue full wantonlie. Some ripe, some rotten, Honour chaungeth maners. Enough is as good as a feaste. It is an euill Cooke, that can not licke their owne fingers. I will soner trust myne eye, then myne eare. But what neede I heape all these together, seeyng Heiwoddes Prouerbes are in Printe, where plentie are to be had: whose paines in that behalfe, are worthie immortall praise.

Thynges notable or straunge helpe forward amplification.

Thynges notable in this life are those, the whiche chaunce to fewe. As this: To se a manne of an hundred yeres of age. A yong child as sober, as a manne of fiftie yeres. A woman that hath had twentie and fower children. A manne once worthe three or fower thousande pounde, now not worthe a grote. A yong manne fairer then a woman. A woman that hath had seuen or eight housebandes. A manne able to drawe a yarde in his Bowe, besides the feathers. A man merie now, and dedde within halfe an hower after. There is none of all these, but serue muche to make our talke appeare vehement, and encrease the weight of communication. As for example. If one would perswade an old manne, to contempne the vanities of this worlde, he might vse the examples of sodaine death, and shewe that children haue died in their mothers lappe, some in their Cradell, some striplynges, some elder, and that not one emong a thousande commeth to three score yeres. Or bee it that some liue an hundred yeres, beyonde the whiche, not one in this laste age passeth: what is there in this life, for the whiche any manne should desire to liue long, seyng that old age bringeth this onely commoditie with it, that by long liuyng we see many thinges that wee would not see, and that many a man hath shortened his life, for weariness of this wretched worlde. Or what though some pleasures are to bee had in this life, what are thei all to the pleasures of the life to come? Likewise in speakyng of euill happ, I might bryng hym in that was once worthe three thousande pounde, and is not now worthe three groates, and perswade men either to set light by riches, or els to comfort them, and perswade them not to take thought, seyng greate harmes haue happened to other heretofore, and tyme maie come when God will sende better. These sentences aboue rehearsed, beeyng largely amplified, encrease muche any suche kinde of matter.

What

¶ What is amplification.

AMplification is a figure in *Rhetorique*, whiche consisteth moste in augmentyng, and diminishyng of any matter, and that diuers waies.

¶ The deuision of amplification.

AMplification and diminishyng, either is taken out of the substances in thynges, or els of wordes. Out of the substances and matter affectiōs are deriued: out of woordes suche kindes of amplification as I will now shewe, and partly haue shewed before, when I spake of the conclusion, or lappyng vp of any matter.

The firste kinde of amplification is, when by chaungyng a worde, in augmentyng we vse a greater, but in diminishyng we vse a lesse. Of the first this maie be an example. When I see one sore beaten, to saie he is slaine: to call a naughtie fellowe theef, or hangman, when he is not knowne to bee any suche. To call a woman that hath made a scape, a common harlot: to call an alehouse haunter a dronkarde: to call one that is troubled with Choler and often angrie, a madde man: to call a pleasaunte gentleman, a railyng iester: to call a coueteous man a Deuill.

Or the latter, these examples shalbe: when one hath sore beaten his fellowe, for the same man to saie, that he hath scant touched hym. When one hath sore wounded an other, to saie he hurt hym but a little: whē one is sore sicke, to be said he is a little crased. In like maner also, when we giue vices the names of vertue: as whē I call him that is a cruell or mercilesse man, somwhat sore in iudgement. When I call a naturall foole, a plain simple man: when I call a notable flatterer, a faire spoken manne: a glutton a good fellowe at his table: a spende all, a liberall gentleman, a snudge or pinche penie, a good housebande, a thriftie man. Diminution

Now in all these kindes, where woordes are amplified thei seeme muche greater, if by correction the sentence be vtterde, and greater wordes compared with them, for whom thei are vtterde. In the whiche kinde of speeche, we shall seme as though we went vp by staiers, not onely to the toppe of a thyng, but also aboue the toppe. There is an example hereof in the seuenth action that *Tullie* made against *Verres*. It is an offence, to binde a Citezein Correction.

of

of Roome with chaines, it is an hainous deede to whip hym: it is worse then manslaughter to kill hym, what shall I call it to hang hym vp vppon a Gibet? If one would commende the auctoritie, whiche he alledgeth, he might saie thus. These woordes are no fables vttered emong meime, but an assured truthe left vnto vs by writyng, and yet not by any common writyng, but by suche as all the worlde hath confirmed and agreed vppon, that it is auntentique and canonicall: neither are thei the woordes of one that is of the common sorte, but thei are the woordes of a Doctour in the Churche of God, and yet not the woordes of a deuine, or Doctour of the commou sorte, but of an Apostle: and yet not one that is the worst, but of Paule that is the best of all other: and yet not Paules, but rather the woordes of the holie Ghoste, speakyng by the mouthe of Paule. He that loueth to enlarge by this kinde, muste marke well the circumstances of thynges, and heappyng them all together, he shall with ease espie how one thing riseth aboue an other. And because the vse hereof extendeth largely, I will largely vse exaumples. As thus. If a gentleman and an officer of the kynges, beyng ouercharged at Supper with ouermuche drinke, and surfettyng with gorge vpon gorge, should vomite the nexte daie in the Parliamente house: I might enueigh thus: O shamefull deede, not onely in sight to be lothed, but alsо odious of all men to be heard. If thou haddest doen this deede at thine house, beyng at Supper with thy wife and children, who would not haue thought it a filthie deede? But now for thee to dooe it in the Parliamente house, emong so many gentlemen, and suche, yea, the beste in all Englande, beeyng bothe an officer of the kynges, and a manne of muche authoritie, and there to cast out gobbettes (where belching were thought great shame) yea and suche gobbets as none could abide the smell, and to fill the whole house with euill sauor, and thy whole bodie with muche filthines, what an abhominable shame is it aboue all other? It had been a foule deede of it self, to vomite where no suche gentlemen wer: yea where no gētlemen wer: yea where no Englishmen wer: yea where no men wer: yea where no companie were at all: or it had been euill, if he had borne no maner of office, or had been no puble officer, or had not been the kynges officer: but beeyng not onely an officer, but a publique officer,

and

and that the kynges officer: yea, and ſuche a kynges, and dooyng ſuche a deede: I can not tell in the woꝛlde, what to ſaie to hym. Diuers examples maie bee inuented like vnto this. As thus, againſt an hedde officer in a noble mannes houſe, I might enueigh thus. Now Loꝛde, what a man is he, he was not aſhamed beyng a gentleman, yea, a man of good yeres, and muche authoꝛitie, and the hedde officer of a dukes houſe, to plaie at Dice in an Alehouſe with boies, baudes and verlets. It had been a greate fault to plaie at ſo vile a game emong ſuche vile perſones, beyng no gentlemã, beyng no officer, beyng not of ſuche yeres: but beyng bothe a man of faire landes, of an auncient houſe, of great authoꝛitie, an officer of a duke, yea, and to ſuche a duke, as a mã of ſuche yeres, that his white heares ſhould warne him to auoide al ſuche folie, to plaie at ſuche a game with ſuche roiſters and ſuche verletts, yea, and that in ſuche an houſe as none comes thether but theeues, baudes, and ruffians, now beſoꝛe God, I cã not ſpeake ſhame enough on him.

There is an other kinde of Amplification, when vnto the hieſt there is added ſome thyng higher then it is. As thus. There is no better Preacher emong them all, except *Hugh Latimer*, the Father of all Preachers. There is no better Latine man within Englande, except *Gualter Haddon* the Lawier. Againe, wee amplifie a matter not aſcẽdyng by degrees, but ſpeakyng that thing onely, then the whiche no greater thyng can be ſpoken. As thus. Thou haſte killed thine owne Mother, what ſhall I ſaie moꝛe, thou haſte killed thyne owne Mother. Thou haſte deceiued thy Soueraine Loꝛde and Kyng, what ſhall I ſaie moꝛe, thou haſte deceiued thy Soueraine Loꝛde and Kyng.

Sometyme we amplifie by comparyng, and take our groũd vpon the weakeſt and leaſte, the whiche if thei ſeeme greate, then muſt that needes appeare greate, whiche we would amplifie and increaſe. As *Tullie* againſt *Catiline*. My ſeruantes in good ſothe, if thei feared me in ſuche ſoꝛte, as all the Citizeins doe feare thee: I would thinke it beſte foꝛ me to foꝛſake my houſe. Thus by vſyng the leaſte firſte, this ſentence is increaſed, fewe ſeruauntes are compared with all the Citizeins, bõdmen are compared with free men: *Tullie* thei Maiſter, is compared with *Catiline* the traitour, whiche was neither Loꝛde noꝛ ruler ouer the Citizeins: and

Tullies

Tullies house is compared with the Citie.

By comparyng of examples, we vse also to encrease our matter. As thus. Did the Maiour of London thruste through Jacke Strawe, beyng but a verlet rebell, and onely disquietyng the citie: and shall the Kyng suffer Capitaine Kete to liue in Englandes grounde, and enioye the fruites of the Realme, beeyng a moste tyrannous Traitour, and suche a Rebell as sought to ouerthrowe the whole Realme.

Here is Jacke Strawe compared with Capitaine Kete, the Citie of London with the whole Realme, the Maiour with the Kyng. So that if he whiche is a priuate persone, and hath no power of death, might punishe with Death the disquietyng of a Citie: the Kyng hymselfe hauyng all power in his hande, maie iustly punishe hym, that seeketh to ouerthrowe his whole Realme.

The places of *Logique* helpe oft for Amplification. As where menne haue a wrong opinion, and thinke Theefte a greater faulte then slaunder, one might proue the contrarie, as well by circumstances, as by argumentes. And first he might shewe that slaunder is Theefte, and euery slaunderer is a Theefe. For as well the slaunderer as the Theefe, dooe take awaie an other mannes possession againste the owners will. After that he might shewe, that a slaunderer is worse then any Theefe, because a goods name is better then all the gooddes in the worlde, and that the losse of money maie bee recouered, but the losse of a mannes good name, can not bee called backe againe, and a Theefe maie restore that againe, whiche he hath taken awaie, but a slaunderer can not giue a man his good name againe, whiche he hath taken from him. Again, he that stealeth gooddes or cattell, robbes onely but one man, but an euill tongued man infecteth all their myndes: vnto whose eares this report shall come.

Slaunder a greater offence then Theefte.

Besides this, there are Lawes and remedies to subdue Theeues: but there is no lawe against an euill tongue. Againe all suche hainous offences, are euer the more greuously punished, the more closely and more craftely thei are committed. As it is thought a greater faulte to kill one with poyson, then to kille hym with the swoorde, and a more hainous offence to committe murder, then to committe manslaughter: we maie gather an argument also from

the

the inſtrument, or maner of dooyng. As a Theefe hath doen this offence with his hande, a ſlaunderer hath doen it with his tongue. Againe, by the iudgement of all men, enchantment is a notable euill: but thei that infect a Prince or Kyng with wicked counſaile, are not thei more wicked enchaunters, conſideryng thei dooe as muche, as if one ſhould poiſon a Conduite hedde, or a Riuer, from whence all menne fetche their water. And yet thei doe more, for it is a greater faulte to poiſon the mynde, then the bodie. Thus by the places and circumſtaunces, greate matters might bee made.

By contraries ſette together, thynges oftentymes appeare greater. As if one ſhould ſett Lukes Ueluet againſt Geane Uelu-ette, the Lukes will appeare better, and the Geane will ſeeme worſer. Or ſette a faire woman againſt a foule, and ſhe ſhall ſeeme muche the fairer, and the other muche the fouler. Accordyng wherunto there is a ſaiyng in *Logique*: Contraria inter ſe oppoſita magis eluceſcunt. That is to ſaie. Contraries beeyng ſet the one againſt the other, appeare more euident. Therefore if any one be diſpoſed to ſet forthe Chaſtitie, he maie byyng in of the contrarie parte whoredome, and ſhewe what a foule offence it is to liue ſo vncleanly, and then the deformitie of whoredome, ſhall muche ſet forthe Chaſtitie: or if one bee diſpoſed to perſwade his fellowe to learnyng and knowledge, he maie ſhewe of the contrary, what a naked wretche man is, yea, how muche a man is no man, and the life no life, when learnyng once wanteth. The like helpe we maie haue by comparyng like examples together, either of creatures liuyng, or of thynges not liuyng: as in ſpeakyng of conſtancie, to ſhewe the Sunne, who euer kepeth one courſe: in ſpeakyng of inconſtancie, to ſhewe the Moone whiche kepeth no certain courſe. Againe in young Stoykes, we maie take an example of loue towardes their damme, for when ſhe is olde, and not able for her crooked bill to picke meate, the pongones feede her. In pong Uipers there is a contrary example (for as *Plinie* ſaieth) thei eate out their dammes wombe, and ſo come forthe. In Hennes there is a care to byyng vp their chickens: in Egles the contrary, which caſte out their Egges, if thei haue any more then three: and all becauſe thei would not be troubled with byyngyng vp of many.

Stoykes.

Uipers.

There

There is also a notable kinde of amplificatiō, when we would extenuate and make lesse greate faultes, whiche before wee did largely increase: To the ende that other faultes might seeme the greatest aboue all other. As if one had robbed his Maister, thrust his fellowe through the arme, accompanied with harlottes, kepte the Tauerne till he had been as dronke as a Ratte: To saie after a large Inuectiue, againste all these offences. You haue heard a whole Courte rolle of ribaudrie, and yet all these are but Flea bitynges, in respecte and comparison of that, whiche I shall now shewe you. Who doeth not looke for marueilous greate matter, and a moste hainous offence, when these faultes that are thought moste greeuous, are coumpted but Flea bitynges, in respecte and comparison of that, whiche he myndeth to rehearse: In like maner one might exhorte the people to godlinesse, and whereas he hath sette forthe all the commodities that followe the same, as in shewyng a quiet conscience, not giltie of any greate faulte, the libertie of the Spirite, the peace whiche wee haue with God, the fellowship with all the elect, for the seruaunt of Sathan, to be the sonne of God, the comforte of the soule, the greatnesse whereof no man is able to cōceiue: to saie at length, and what can be greater, what can bee more excellent, or more blissfull? And yet all these are small matters, if thei bee compared with the blessed inheritaunce of the euer liuyng God, prepared for all those that liue godlie here vppon yearth, fastenyng their whole truste vpon Christe aboue, whiche bothe is able, and will saue all those, that call vnto hym with faithe. Wee doe encrease our cause by reasonyng the matter, and castyng our accoumpte, when either by thynges that followe, or by thinges that goe before, or els by suche thinges as are annexed with the matter, we giue sentence how greate the thing is. By thynges goyng before, I iudge when I see an enuious or hastie manne, fight with an other as hastie, that there is like to be bloodshed. As who should saie, can enuious or hastie men matche together, but that thei must nedes trie the matter with bloodshedyng. Assuredly it can not bee otherwise, but that blood must appease their rage. Likewise, seeyng twoo wisemen earnestly talking together, I cannot otherwise iudge, but that their talke must nedes be wittie, and concerne some weightie matter. For to what

ende

ende should wise meune ioyne, or wherefore should thei laie their heddes together, if it were not for some earneste cause? What a shame is it for a strong man, of muche healthe, and greate manhode, to be ouercome with a cuppe of drinke. From thynges ioyned with the cause, thus. A woman haupng her housebande emprisoned, and in daunger of death, sodainly stept before the Kyng and craued his pardon. Bolde was that woman, whiche durst aduenture to knele before a Kyng, whose housebande had so greuously offended. Though women by nature are fearfull, yet in her appered a manly stomacke, and a good bolde harte, yea, euen in greatest daunger. By thynges that followe, thus. All Englande lament the death of Duke Henry, and Duke Charles, two noble brethren of the house of Suffolke. Then maie we well iudge that these two Gentlemen, were wonderfully beloued, when thei both were so lamented.

There is a kinde of amplifiyng, whiche in speakyng of twoo that fought together, we praise hym muche that hadde the worse, because we would the other to haue more praise. Consideryng for a man to beate a boye, it were no praise, but for a tall manne to matche with an other, that were as tall as hym self: that were somewhat worthe. Therefore, I would haue the Scottes well praised, whom the Englishmen haue so often vanquished. He that praiseth muche the strong holde of Boleine, must needes thereby praise Kyng Henrie the eight of Englande, who by Marciall power wonne it, and kepte it all his life tyme. Or thus, Suche a one keepes a marueilous good house, for the worste boye in his house, drinkes one and the same drinke with his Maister, and all one bread, yea, euery one hath his meate in siluer, Chamber vessels, and all are of siluer. We iudge by apparell, by armour, or by harnesse, what a man is of stature or biggenesse. We iudge by occasion the goodnes of men, as when thei might haue doen harme, they would not, when thei might haue slaine, they sought rather to saue. From the place where one is, encreale maie be gathered. As thus. Beyng euen in the Courte he was neuer moued to gamyng, beyng at Rome, he hated Harlottes, where there is by reporte, so greate plentie as there are starres in the Element.

From the tyme thus, he must needes bee well learned in the

lawes of our realme, that hath bẽn assudent this thirtie Winter.

From the age: assuredly, he is like to be good, for beyng but a childe he was euer moste Godly.

From the state of life: no doubt but he is honeste, for beyng but a seruaunte, he liued so vprightly, as none could iustly blame his life.

From the hardenesse of a thyng. That whiche is almoste onely proper to Angelles, must needes bee harde for man: therefore, chastitie is a rare gift, and harde for man to keepe.

From the straightnesse of a thyng. Eloquence must needes be a wonderfull thyng, when so fewe haue attained it.

Likewise, notable aduentures doen by a fewe, are more praise worthie, then such as haue bẽn doen by a greate nomber. Therefore, the battaile of Muskelborowe, against the Scottes, where so fewe Englishemen were slaine, and so many Scottes dispatched: must needes bee more praise worthie, then if the nomber of Englishmen had been greater.

Uehemencie of wordes, full often helpe the matter forwards when more is gathered by cogitation, then if the thyng had been spoken in plaine woordes. When we heare one saie, sutche a man swelled, seyng a thyng against his minde, we gather that he was then more then halfe angrie. Agame, when we heare one saie, such a woman spittes fire, we gather straight that she is a deuill. The Preacher thunderde in the Pulpite, belike then he was metely hotte. But concernyng all such speaches, the knowledge of a Metaphore, shall bryng menne to muche knowledge, whereof I will speake hereafter emong the figures (and therefore, I surcease to speake of it in this place.

We encrease our cause, by heapyng of woordes and sentences together, couchyng many reasons into one corner, whiche before were scaterde abroade, to the intent that our talke might appere more vehement. As when by many coniectures and greate presumptions, we gather that one is an offendour, heapyng them all into one plumpe, which before were sparpled abroade, and therefore did but little good. As thus: to proue by coniectures, a murder committed, I might thus saie, against a suspected persone, My Lordes, doe not weye my woordes and sentences seuerally, but

Amplificatiõ by cõiectures

but consider them altogether. If the accused persone here, shal receiue profite by this other mans deathe, if his life heretofore hath euer been euill, his nature couetous, his wealthe moste slender, and that this dedde mannes gooddes could tourne to no mannes availe so muche, as vnto this accused persone, and that no manne could so easely dispatche hym, and that this man could by no better meanes compasse his desire, and that nothyng hath been vnattempted, whiche might further his naughtie purpose, and nothyng doen that was thought needelesse, and seyng a mete place, was chiefly sought for, and occasion serued very wel, and the time was moste apte for suche an attempte, and many meanes heretofore deuised to compasse this offence, and great hope both to kepe it close, and also to dispatche it, and besides that, seyng this manne was seen alone, a little before in the same place where this other man was slaine, and that this mannes voice whiche did slaie hym was heard a little before in the same place, where this other man was slaine, and seing it is well knowen that this man came home late the same night, and the nexte daie after beyng examined, did answere confusedly, fearfully, and as though he were amased, and seyng all these thynges are partly shewed by witnesses, partly by good reason, partly by his owne confession, and partly by the reporte that commonly goeth of hym, whiche by like is not spoken without some grounde: It shall bee your partes, worthie Iudges, weiyng all these thinges together, to giue certain iudgement of hym for this offence, and not to thinke it a matter of suspition. For it might haue been, that three or fower of these coniectures beyng proued, might giue but onely a cause of suspiton, but whereas all these together are plainly proued by hym, it can not be otherwise but that he hath offended.

It is an excellent kinde of amplifiyng, when thinges encreased, and thynges diminished, are bothe sette together, that the one maie the rather beautifie the other. As if, when Gods goodnesse towardes vs, were largely amplified, we did straight extenuate our vnthankfulnesse towards hym againe. As thus: Seyng God hath made man a creature vnto his owne likenesse, seyng he hath giuen hym life, and the spirite of vnderstandyng, endewyng hym with his manifold graces, & redeming hym, not with vile money,

but with his owne precious bodie, sufferyng death, and bloodshe dyng vpon the crosse, the rather that manne might liue for euer: What an vnthankfull parte is it, yea, what an hainouse thyng it is for man so oft to offende, so ofte to wallowe in sutche his wickednesse, and euermore for Gods louyng kindnesse, to shewe himselfe of all other creatures moste vnkinde.

Likewise, contraries beyng rehearsed, and the euill immediatly vttered after the good, make muche for encrease. As many men now a daies for sobrietie, followe glottonie, for chastitie, take lecherie, for truthe, like falshode, for gentlenesse, seke crueltie, for iustice, vse wrong dealyng, for Heuen, hell, for God, the Deuill, to whom they will without peraduenture, if Goddes grace be not greater.

¶ Of mouyng affections.

Affections mouyng.

BEcause the beauty of amplifyng, standeth moste in apte mouyng of affections: It is nedefull to speake somewhat in this behalfe, that the better it maie be knowen what thei are, and howe it maie bee vsed. Affections therefore (called Passions) are none other thyng, but a stirryng or forcyng of the mynde, either to desire, or els to detest and lothe any thyng, more vehemently then by nature we are commonly wont to doe. We desire those thynges, wee loue theim, and like theim earnestly, that appere in our iudgement to be Godly, we hate and abhorre those thynges that seme naught, vngodly, or harmefull vnto vs. Neither onely are we moued with those thinges, whiche we thinke either hurtfull, or profitable for our selues, but also wee reioyce, wee sorie, or wee pitie an other mannes happe.

And euermore there are two thynges, whiche moue vs either this waie, or that waie. The matter self whiche doeth happen, or is like to happen: and the persone also whom the matter doth concerne. As for example: If a wicked wretch haue his desertes, we are all glad to heare it, but if an innocent should be cast awaie, we thinke muche of it, and in stomacke repine against wrong iudgement. If an euill man finde much fauour, we enuie his good hap, yea, it greueth vs, that any one suche, should haue sutche fauour shewed: and not onely doe we hate the euill that are come to any wealthe,

wealth, but also we enuie commonly all such as come to any pre-ferment, especially, if either thei haue been as poore menne as we are, or els came of a meaner house then wee haue dooen. No one man would haue any to be better then hymself, and euery one enableth his owne gooddes, to deserue like dignitie with the beste. And where as some haue gotte before, startyng sodainly from an inche to an Elle, wee spare not to saie, that flatterie made theim speede, and though they haue muche gooddes, yet are thei cleare voyde of all goodnesse, and therefore muche good maie it doe thē, we would not come by goods in such sorte, to winne all the world. For the Deuill and thei (saie wee) shall parte stakes with theim one daie. And thus we can neuer be content to giue our neighbor a good worde. Yea, though thei haue serued right well, and deserued a greater rewarde, we must nedes finde some fault with them to lessen their praises, and saie that though their desertes be great, yet their natures are nought: none so proude, though fewe bee so hardy, none so enuious, though fewe so faithfull: none so couetous though fewe so liberall: none so glottonous, though fewe keepe suche an house. And thus, though we graunt them one thyng, yet we will take an other thyng as faste againe from them.

With praisyng, dispraisyng vsed.

Suche a man is an excellent fellowe (saieth one) he can speake the tongues well, he plaies of Instrumentes, fewe men better, he feigneth to the Lute, marueilous swetely, he endites excellently, but for all this (the more is the pitie) he hath his faultes, he will be dronke once a daie, he loues women well, he will spende Goddes Coope if he had it, he will not tary long in one place, and he is somewhat large of his tongue. That if these faultes were not, surely he were an excellent fellowe. Euen as one should saie: if it were not for lyyng and stealyng, there were not an honester man then suche a one is, that perchaunce hath some one good qualitie, to sette hym forwarde. These buttes be to broade, and these barres bee ouer biggue, for looke what is giuen to one by commendyng, the same is straight taken awaie by buttyng. Therefore, suche are not to be liked that giue a man a shoulder of Mutton, and breake his hedde with the Spitte when thei haue dooen. And yet, this is many a mannes nature, especially, where enuie hath any grounded dwellyng place, whose propertie is alwaies to

ſpeake nothyng of other, without reprorhe and ſlaunder.

In mouyng affections, and ſtirryng the Iudges to bee greued, the waight of the matter muſt be ſette forthe, as though they ſawe it plaine before their eyes, the reporte muſt be ſuche, and the offence made ſo hainous, that the like hath not been ſeen heretofore, and all the circumſtaunce muſt thus be heaped together: The naughtineſſe of his nature that did the deede, the cruell ordering, the wicked dealing, and malicious handlyng, the tyme, the place, the maner of his doyng, and the wickednesſe of his will to haue doen more. The man that ſuſtained the wrong, howe little he deſerued, howe well he was eſteemed emong his neighbours, howe ſmall cauſe he gaue hym, how greate lacke menne haue of hym. Now, if this bee not reformed, no good man ſhall liue ſauſe, the wicked will ouerflowe all the worlde, and beſte it were for ſauſegarde to be nought alſo, and ſo take parte with them, for no good man ſhall goe quiet for them, if there be not ſpedie redreſſe founde and this fault punished to the example of all other.

Deſcription of an euill and wicked offence doen.

Quintilian coucheth together in theſe fewe wordes, the full heape of ſuche an hainous matter, by gatheryng it vp after this ſorte.

i. What is doen.
ii. By whom.
iii. Againſt whom.
iiii. Upon what minde.
v. At what tyme.
vi. In what place.
vii. After what ſorte.
viii. How muche he would haue doen.

What is doe

By whom.

IF one bee beaten blacke and blewe, we take it greuouſly: But if one bee ſlaine, wee are muche more troubled. Againe, if a ſlaue or ruffine ſhall doe ſuche a deede, we are diſpleaſed: but if an officer, a Preacher, or an hed Gentleman ſhould vſe any ſlauerie, we are muche more agreued. Yea, or if a verie notable euill man committed ſuche an horrible offence, wee thinke hym worthie to haue the leſſe fauour. If a ſturdie fellowe be ſtroken, we are not

Againſt whom.

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so muche disquieted, as if a childe, a woman, an aged man, a good man, or a chiefe officer, should be cruell vsed. If the offence bee committed vppon a prepensed mynde, and wilfully, we make muche more a doe, then if it were doen by chaunce medly. If it bee doen vpon an holie daie, or els vpon the daie of Assise, or vpon the daie of a Kynges Coronation, or about suche a solempne tyme, or if it bee dooen in the night, rather then at noone daies, we make the matter greater, then if it had been doen at an other tyme. In the courte if one strike a man, it is thought greater, then if he should it him in the open streate. The maner of doyng also, dooe muche moue the pacience of mkinde, as if one should cowardely kill one, and strike him sodainly, he were worthie greater blame, then if he should manfully sette vpon him: or if one kill his fellowe secretly with a Gunne, he were worthie more hatred, then if he killed him with a sworde, or wounded him sore, or cruelly mangeled him, wee crie out muche more then if he had barely killed him. And last of all, if his will had been to haue doen muche more then he did: we encrease our anger against his rage muche more, then euer we would els haue doen.

Vpon what mynde.

At what tyme.

In what place.

After what sorte.

How muche he would.

¶ *Of mouyng pitie.*

NOW in mouyng pitie, and stirryng men to mercie, the wrong doen, must firste bee plainly tolde: or if the Iudges haue sustained the like extremitie, the beste were to will theim, to remember their owne state, how thei haue been abused in like maner, what wronges thei haue suffered by wicked doers: that by hearyng their owne, they maie the better harken to others.

Againe, whereas all other miseries that befall vnto man, are greuous to the eare, there is nothing more hainous, then to heare that the moste honest men are sanest ouerthrowen, by theim that are moste wicked, and vertue putte to flight through the onely might of vice. That if the like hath not happened vnto the hearers of this cause, yet it were meete to shewe theim that the like maie happen, and so require them to giue iudgement in this cause, as they would dooe in their owne, and remember that harme maie chaunce to euery one, that perhappes chaunceth to any one. And no doubt, euery man remembryng himself, and his owne case,

will looke well about him and giue iudgemẽt according to right.

Neither can any good bee doen at all, when we haue saied all that euer we can, except we bring the same affections in our owne harte, the whiche wee would the Iudges should beare towardes our owne matter. For howe can he be greued with the reporte of any haynous act, either in lamenting the naughtinesse of the dede, or in bewailyng the miserable misfortune of the thyng, or in fearyng muche, the like euill hereafter: except the Orator hymself vtter such passions outwardly, and from his harte fetche his complaintes in suche sorte, that the matter maie appere, bothe more greuous to the eare, and therewith so haynous, that it requires earnestly a spedie reformation? There is no substaunce of it selfe, that will take fire, except ye put fire to it. Likewise, no mans nature is so apt, straight to be heated, except the Orator hymself, be on fire, and bryng his heate with hym. It is a common saiyng, nothyng kindleth soner then fire. And therefore a fierie stomacke causeth euermore a fierie toung. And he that is heated with zeale and Godlinesse, shall set other on fire with like affection. No one man can better enueigh against vice, then he can doe which hateth vice with all his harte. Againe, nothyng moisteth soner then water. Therefore, a weppyng eye causeth muche moisture, and prouoketh teares. Neither is it any maruaile, for suche men, bothe in their countenaunce, tongue, eyes, gesture, and in all their bodie els, declare an outwarde griefe, and with wordes so vehemently and vnfeinedly settes it forwarde, that thei will force a man to bee sorry with them, and take parte with their teares euen against his will. Notwithstanding, when such affections are moued, it were good not to stande long in theim. For though a vehemente talke maie moue teares, yet no arte can long hold them. For as *Cicero* doeth saie, nothyng driueth soner then teares, especially when wee lament an other mans cause, and be sorie with hym for his sake.

He that will stirre affections to other, must first bee moued hymselfe.

Heate, causeth heate.

A weping eye prouoketh moysture.

But nowe that I haue taught men to be sorie, I will attempt againe to make them merie, and shewe what learned menne saie, concernyng laughter, in delityng the hearers, when tyme and place shall best require.

¶ *Of delityng the hearers, and stirryng theim to laughter.*

Considerynge

Laughter morgng.

Considering the dulnesse of mannes nature, that neither it can be attentiue to heare, nor yet stirred to like or alowe any tale long tolde, excepte it be refreashed, or finde some sweete delite: the learned haue by wit and labour, deuised much varietie. Therfore, sometymes in tellyng a waightie matter, they bring in some heauie tale, and moue them to be right sory, whereby the hearers are more attentiue. But after when thei are wearied, either with tediousnesse of the matter, or heauinesse of the reporte: some pleasaunt matter is inuented, both to quicken them againe, and also to keepe them from satietie. But surely fewe there be that haue this gifte, in due tyme to cheare men. Neither can any doe it, whom Nature hath not framed, and giuen an aptnesse therevnto.

Some mannes countenaunce will make pastime, though he speake neuer a woorde. Yea, a foolishe woorde vttered by an apte man, or a gesture straungely vsed by some pleasaunt bodie, settes men full oft vpon a laughter. And whereas some thinke it a trifle to haue this gifte, and so easie, that euery varlet or common iester, is hable to matche with the beste: yet it appereth that they whiche vtterly can be pleasaunt, and when tyme serueth can giue a merie aunswere, or vse a nippyng taunte, shalbe hable to abashe a right woorthie man, and make hym at his wittes ende, through the sodaine quicke, and vnlooked frumpe giuen. I haue knowen some so hitte of the thumbes, that thei could not tell in the world, whether it were beste to fight, chide, or to goe their waie. And no maruaile: for wher the iest is aptly applied, the hearers laugh immediatly, and who would gladly bee laughed to scorne? Some can pretely by a woorde spoken, take occasion to be right merie.

Other can ieste at large, and tell a rounde tale pleasauntly, though thei haue none occasion at that time giuen. But assuredly, that mirthe is more woorthe, whiche is moued by a woorde newlie spoken, then if a long tale should pleasauntly bee tolde. For as muche, as bothe it cometh vnlooked for, and also declares a quickenesse of witte, woorthie commendation. There are fiue thynges whiche *Tullie* noteth, concernyng pleasaunt talke.

i. What it is to delite the hearers.
ii. Whereof it cometh.
iii. Whether an Orator maie moue laughter.
iiii. How largely he maie goe, and what measure he must vse.
v. What are the kindes of sporting, or mouing to laughter.

NOw to tell you in plain wordes, what laughter is, how it stirreth & occupieth the whole body, how it altereth the countenaūce, & sodainly hasteth out that we cā not kepe it in: let some merye man on Gods name take this matter in hād. For it passeth my cūning, & I think euen thei that can best moue laughter, would rather laugh merely when such a question is put forth, thē giue answere earnestly, what, & how laughter is in dede.

The occasion of laughter, and the meane that maketh vs merie (which is the seconde obseruation) is the fondnes, the filthines, the deformitie, and all suche euill behauiour, as we see to bee in other. For we laugh alwaies at those thynges, whiche either onely or chiefly touche handsomely, and wittely, some especiall fault, or fonde behauiour in some one body, or some one thing. Sometimes we iest at a mans bodie, that is not well proportioned, and laugh at his countenaunce, if either it be not comely by nature, or els he through folly can not well see it. For if his talke be fonde, a merie man can want no matter to hitte hym home, ye maie bee assured. Some iest is made, when it toucheth no manne at all, neither the demaunder, neither the standers by, nor yet anye other, and yet deliteth as muche the hearers, as any the other can doe. Now when we would abashe a manne, for some wordes that he hath spoken, and can take none aduauntage of his persone, or makyng of his bodie, we either doubt him at the first, and make hym beleue, that he is no wiser then a Goose: or els we confute wholy his sayinges with some pleasaunt iest, or els wee extenuate and diminishe his doinges by some prettie meanes, or els we cast the like in his dish, and with some other deuise, dashe him out of countenance: or laste of all, we laugh him to scorne out right, and sometimes speake almoste neuer a worde, but onely in countenance, shewe our selues pleasaunt. But how soeuer we make sport, either the delite is vttered

Mi the how many waies it is moued.

tered by countenance, or by pointyng to some thing, or shewed at large by some tale, or els occasion taken by some woorde spoken

The thirde question is, whether it standeth with an Oratours profession, to delite the hearers with pleasaunt reportes, and wittie sayinges, or no. Assuredly it behoueth a man that must talke muche, euermore to haue regarde to his audience, and not onely to speake so much as is needefull, but also to speake no longer then they bee willyng to heare. Euen in this our tyme, some offende much in tediousnesse, whose part it were to comfort all men with cherefulnesse. Yea, the Preachers of God mind so muche edifiyng of soules, that they often forget we haue any bodies. And therfore, some doe not so muche good with tellyng the truthe, as they doe harme with dullyng the hearers, being so farre gone in their matters, that oftentimes they cannot tell when to make an ende. *Plato* therefore the father of learnyng, and the Well of all wisedome, when he heard *Antisthenes* make suche a long Oration, that he starke wearied all his hearers, phy for shame man (quoth he) doest thou not knowe, that the measuryng of an Oration standeth not in the speaker, but in the hearers. But some perhaps will saie vnto me, *Pacite quantum in vobis est*, to whom I aunswere, *estote prudentes*. And now because our senses be suche, that in hearing a right wholsome matter, we either fall a sleepe when wee should moste harke, or els are wearied with still hearing one thing, without any change, and think ỳ the best part of his tale, resteth in making an ende: the wittie and learned haue vsed delitefull sayinges, and quicke sentences, euer among their waightie cause, considerying that not onely good will is got thereby (for what is he that loueth not mirth?) but also men wonder at suche a hedde, as hath mens hartes at his commaundment, beyng hable to make theim merie when he liste, and that by one woorde speakyng, either in aunswerying some thyng spoken before, or els oftentymes in giuyng the onset, being not prouoked thereunto. Again, we see that men are full oft abashed, and put out of countenance by such taunting meanes, & those that haue so doen are compted to be fine mẽ, and pleasaunt fellowes, suche, as fewe dare set foote with theim.

Preachers.

Plotces saiyng to Antisthenes.

1. Peter. 5.

Math. 10.

Thus knowyng that to moue spoyte, is lawfull for an Orator, or any one that shall talke in any open assembly: good it were

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to knowe what compaſſe he ſhould keepe, that ſhould thus be merie. For feare he take to muche grounde, and goe beyonde his boundes. Therefore, no ſuche ſhould be taunted, or ieſted withall, that either are notable euill liuers, and hainous offendours: or els are pitifull caitifes, and wretched beggers. For euery one thinketh it a better and a meter deede, to punithe noughtie packes, then to ſcoffe at their euill demeanour: and as for wretched ſoules or poore bodies, none can beare to haue them mocked, but thinke rather that thei ſhould be pitied, excepte thei fooliſhly vaunt them ſelues. Againe, none ſuche ſhould be made any laughing ſtockes, that either are honeſt of behauiour, or els are generally well beloued. As for other, we maie be bolde to talke with them, and make ſuche game and paſtime, as their good wits ſhal giue good cauſe. But yet this one thing, we had nede euer to take with vs, that in all our ieſtyng we keepe a meane, wherein not onely it is mete to auoide all groſſe bourding, and alehouſe ieſting, but alſo to eſchue all fooliſhe talke, and Ruffine maners, ſuche as no honeſt eares can once abide, nor yet any wittie man can like well or allowe.

Ieſtyng whē it ſhould bee ſpared.

¶ *The deuiſion of pleaſaunt behauiour.*

Mirthe making, two waies vſed.

Pleaſauntneſſe, either appereth in tellyng a rounde tale, or els in takyng occaſion of ſome one worde. The matter is tolde pleaſauntly, when ſome mans nature (wherof the tale is tolde) is to ſette forthe his countenaunce ſo counterfeicted, and all his ieſture ſo reſembled, that the hearers might iudge the thyng, to bee then liuely doen, euen as though he were there, whereof the tale was tolde. Some can ſo liuely ſette forthe an other mannes nature, and with ſuche grace reporte a tale: that fewe ſhalbe hable to forbeare laughter, whiche knowe bothe parties, though thei would the contrary neuer ſo faine. Now in counterfecting after this ſorte, if ſuch moderation be not vſed, that the hearer maie iudge more by hymſelf, then the pleaſaunt diſpoſed man is willyng fullie to ſet forthe: it will not be well liked. For, he that exceedeth and telleth all: yea, more then is needefull, with out all reſpecte or conſideration had: the ſame ſhall bee taken for a common ieſter, ſuche as knowe not how to make an ende, when they once begin, beyng better acquainted with bible bable, then knowyng the fruict of wiſedomes lore.

Pleaſauntneſſe

Pleasauntnesse in a saiyng, is stirred by the quicke alteryng of some one woyde, oy of some one sentence. But euen as in repoytyng a tale, oy counterfeictyng a man, to muche is euer naught: So scurrilitie oy (to speake in olde plaine Englishe) knaueric in iestyng would not be vsed, where honestie is estemed Therefoye, though there bee some witte in a pyetie deuised iest: yet we ought to take heede that we touche not those, whom we would be moste lothe to offende. And yet some had as liue lose their life, as not bestowe their conceiued ieste, and oftentymes thei haue as they desire. But shall I saie of suche wilfull men, as a Spaniarde spake of an carnest Gospeller, that foy woyides spoken against an Ecclesiasticall lawe, suffered death in Smithfielde: *Ah miser, non potuit tacere & viuere?* Ah wretche that he was, could he not liue and holde his peace. Pleasauntnesse in a saiyng.

Againe, to ieste when occasion is giuen, oy when the iest maie touche all men: it is thought to be against all good maner. Therefoye, the consideration of tyme, and moderation of pastyme, and seldome vsing of oyie mockes, euen when neede moste requireth, make a difference, and shewe a seuerall understandyng betwixt a common iester, and a pleasaunt wise man. Difference betwixt a cõmon iester, and a pleasaunt wisemã

Now the tyme requireth, to shewe what kindes there are of mouyng laughter, and makyng the harte to be mery: Notwithstandyng, this would first be learned, that out of diuers pleasaunt speaches, auncient saiynges also maie be gathered. As foy example, we maie by one woyde, bothe praise a faithfull seruaunt, and if he be naught, we maie also ieste of hym, and praise hym. Accoydyng to that mery saiyng of *Nero*, vpon his man that was light fingred. I haue one at home (quoth he) emong all other, to whom there is no coffer lockt, noy dooye shutte in all my house, meaning that he was a pickelocke, and a false verlet, and yet these woyides might haue been spoken of a faithfull seruaunt.

We shall delite the hearers, when thei looke foy one awnswere, and we make theim a cleane contrary, as though we would not seme to vnderstande what thei would haue. As one *Pontidius* beyng soye greued, that an other man had committed adultrie, came to a frende of his, and saied sadly: Ah Loyde, what thinke you sir of hym, that was taken in bedde of late with an other mans wife: Pleasant answeres made contrary to our lookyng, delite vs muche.

Marie

Marie q̄ the other I thinke hym to be a very sluggarde. *Pontidius* hearyng hym saie so, was abashed at the straungenesse of his aunswere, and lookyng for no suche thyng, was driuen to laugh at his owne errour, although before he was muche greued, with the aduulterers moste wicked deede.

One beyng sore greued with the euill behauiour of a certaine Gentleman, spake his pleasure largely against hym, wherevpon an other merie man, dissemblyng to take his parte, saied, he was an honester man then so. Yea (q̄ the other) what one thyng hath he, whereby to proue hymselfe honest at all? Marie (q̄ the man) he hath the Kynges pardone, and what saie you to that?

Diogenes. When is it beste to dine (q̄ one) to Diogenes? Marie (q̄ he) for a riche man when he liste: for a poore man when he can.

A noble man, that whilome kept a chappell, beyng disposed to serue God, went to his closet deuoutly, and made hymselfe redy to praie, whereupō one came doune in haste, & saied to the chaunter, you must begin sir. The chaunter beyng a merie man, aunswered thus as though he were angrie. Begin q̄ he. I wil begin withnone except thei begin with me. And so made the whole quier thet then was redy for singing to fall straight a laughing. The which is all one, for sing we, or laugh we, what maketh matter so we be merie

An Vbbate in Italie, beyng grosse of his body, and vnweldie to beholde, walkyng out of Florence for his pleasure, and hauing farther trauailde towards the Euenyng, then he thought hymselfe well hable to retourne, before the gates of the Citie were shutte: met a countrie manne commyng from thens, and because it was somewhat late, asked hym if he might gette in at the gates: the housebande man, seyng this fatte Abbate lookyng for a redy aunswere, and lothe to lose any tyme for feare he should be kept out, saied pleasauntly to the deuoute religious fat Priest: Sir, be not afraied, for a carte loden with Haie, maie easely get in at any gate in Florence, and therefore you neede not to doubte, although you were as bigge againe, whereas the Abbates meanyng was, if he might come in tyme before the gates were lockt.

A frende of myne, and a good fellowe, more honest then wealthie, yea, and more pleasaunt then thriftie, hauing nede of a nagge for his iourney that he had in hande, and beyng in the countrie, minded

minded to goe to Partnaie faire in Lincolnſhire, not farre from the place where he then laie, and metyng by the waie one of his acquaintaunce, tolde hym his arrande, and aſked him how horſes went at the faire. The other aunſwered merely and ſaied, ſome trotte ſir, and ſome amble, as farre as I can ſee. If their paces be altered, I praie you tell me at our next metyng. And ſo rid awaie as faſte as his horſe could cary hym, without ſaiyng any woorde more, wherat he there being alone, fell a laughing hartely to him ſelf, and loked after a good while, vntil the other was out of ſight.

A Gentleman hauyng heard a ſermon at Poules, and beyng come home, was aſked what the Preacher ſaied. The gentleman aunſwered, he would firſt heare what his mayne could ſaie, who then waited vpō him, with his hat and cloke, and calling his man to him, ſaied, now ſir, what haue you brought from the Sermon. Forſoth good maiſter, ſaied the ſeruaunte your clooke and your hat. An honeſte true dealyng ſeruaunt out of doubte, plaine as a packeſaddle, hauyng a better ſoule to God, though his witte was ſimple, then thoſe haue, that vnder the colour of hearyng giue thē ſelues to priuie pickyng, and ſo bring other mennes purſes home in their boſomes, in the ſtede of other mennes Sermons.

In the tyme of Pope *Iulie* the ſeconde, or *Alexander* the firſt, I doe not well remember (but either of theim bothe maie ſerue well for this purpoſe beyng both warriers, as what Pope is not) it ſo happeneth that a Cardinall of Spaine, hauyng charge vnder the Pope of an armie, and ſeyng it neceſſarie, to trie the fortune of battaile, againſt the enemies of the Popes holineſſe, valiauntly encouraged thoſe Soldiours, to ſhewe them ſelues like men, aſſuryng to them that would haſſarde their liues, in that conflicte, not onely to haue full pardone of their ſynnes, but alſo that they ſhould that morneyng, goe dine with GOD and his Angelles in Heuen. And when he had thus ſaied, he withdrewe hymſelf from the battaile. Vnto whom a ſoldiour ſaied that was nigh at hande. Right reuerende father, howe happeneth your grace, doeth not whitclaue tarie with vs, that you might alſo goe dine this morneyng with God and his Angelles. Holde thy peace knaue (qᵈ the Cardinall) I haue no liſte to eate now, it is to earely for me, my ſtomacke is not yet come to me.

Morpes

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Woordes

Woordes doubtfully spoken, giue often iuste occasion of much laughter. Ah (q̄ a certaine man) doe you see yonder fellowe, and doe you knowe hym? Yea (q̄ the other) I knowe hym very well. I shall tell you sir (saied the Gentleman) there is not a manne of greater vnderstandyng within this Citie then he is. Tushe it is not so (q̄ he.) No? (saied the other) marke well the bought of his legge, and you shall see his vnderstandyng worthie to be compared with the beste and greatest of them all.

Chaungyng of a letter, or altering part of a woorde, or addyng a sillable.

Sometimes it is well liked, whē by the chaungyng of a letter, or taking awaie some part of a woorde, or addyng somtymes a sillable, we make an other meanyng. As one said, that men full vnhappely, enueighyng against those that held of Christes spirituall being in the sacramēt: some (q̄ he) wil haue a Trope to be in these woordes: This is my body: but surely I would with the T. were taken awaie, & that thei had for their labour which is left behinde.

A Gentleman, being handfasted to a Gentlewoman, and suer to her, as he thought: afterwardes lost her, beyng made faster to an other manne, then euer she was to hym. Wherevpon he tooke greate displeasure, and sought by lawe to win her. Notwithstandyng, she had carnally been acquainted with the other gentlemā. A noble man beyng earnestly desired of him, that had first lost her, to helpe hym to her againe: I maruaile (q̄ the noble man) what you meane to bee so earneste to recouer her, whom an other man haue already couerde. If I were in your case, she should goe for me, and he should haue her, that hath thus before hande sealed vpō her. The Gentleman discouraged vpon this aunswere, departed with an vnquieted minde, and thought notwithstandyng, to bee euen with the woman, if he could tell possible how or which waie.

What cary you maister persone (q̄ a Gentleman) to a Priest that had his woman on horsebacke behinde hym, haue you gotte your Male behinde you? No sir (q̄ the Priest) it is my Female.

Interpretatiō of a woord

The interpretation of a woorde, doeth ofte declare a witte. As when one hath doen a robberie, some will saie, it is pitie he was a handsome man, to the whiche an other made aunswere, you saie truthe sir, for he hath made these shiftes by his handes, and got his liuyng with light fingeryng, and therefore, beyng handsome as you saie he is, I would God he were handsomely hanged.

Some-

Sometymes it is delicefull, when a mannes worde is taken, and not his meanyng. As when one had saied to an other (whose help he must needes haue) I am sorie sir to put you to paines: the other aunswered, I will ease you sir of that sorrowe, for I will take no suche paines for you at all.

Wordes taken, and not the meaning.

The turnyng of a worde, and deniyng that wherwith we are charged, and aunswerynge a muche worse, doeth often moue the hearer. There was one *Bassus*, as *Quintilian* dooeth tell, whiche seyng a Ladie called *Domitia*, to bee verie nigh her self, spake his pleasure of her. Wherupon she beyng greued, charged hym with these wordes, that he should saie she was suche a pinche penie, as would fell her old shooes for money, wherupon he aunswered: as forsothe madame, q̃ he, I saied not so, but these were my wordes I saied you bought old Shooes, suche as you could gette beste cheape for money.

An answere from euill to worse.

Snudgyng wittely rebuked.

The Hollanders woordes are worthie rehearsall, who beyng a poore manne, as *Erasmus* telleth the tale, had a Cowe or twoo goyng in the Commons, wherevpon it happened that an Oxe of a richemannes, who then was Maior of the towne, had gored the poore mannes Cowe, and almoste killed her. The poore man beyng in this case halfe vndoen, thought notwithstandyng by a wittie deuise, to get right iudgemente of maister Maior, for the losse of his Cowe, if he got nothyng els, and therefore thus he framed his tale. Sir, so it is that my Cowe hath gored and almoste killed your Oxe. What hath she, q̃ he, by sainct Marie thou shalte paie for hym then. Naie, q̃ the poore manne, I crie you mercie, your Oxe hath gored my Cowe. Ah, quoth the Maior, that is an other matter, we will talke of that hereafter at more leasure.

A wittie deuised tale to get right iudgement.

These woordes were spoken of purpose, but now you shall heare what an olde woman spake of simplicitie. In the dotyng worlde when stockes were sainctes, and dumme walles spake, this old grandame was deuoutly knelyng vpon her knees, before the Image of our Ladie. Wherevpon a merie fellowe asked her what she ment to crouche and kneele there. Marie q̃ the old mother, I praie to our Ladie, that she maie praie to her Soonne for me: with that he laughed at her ignorance. Wherevpon she thinkyng that her woordes were spoken amisse, corrected her owne

A beldames blinde aunswere.

sayng in this wise: Na ie quoth she, I praie to Christ in heauen, that he will praie for me to this good Ladie here.

Woordes ouerthwartlie answered.

Woordes rehearsed contrarie to that whiche was spoken, and (as a man would saie) ouerthwartly answered, doe muche abashe the opponent, and delite the hearers. As when *Sergius Galba* beyng sicke, and therefore kepyng his house, had appointed certaine of his secendes, to heare a matter of one *Libo Scribonius*, *Tribune* of the people, a man muche noted for his noughtie and vncleane life: this *Libo* saied to hym in this wise. Good Lorde, when shall wee see you sir abroade out of your Parlour. Marie (q̃ he) when thou keepest thyself out of an other mannes Chamber, meanyng that he was ouer familiar with an other mannes wife. Thus we see how and in what maner, pleasant fawes are gathered and vsed, vpon the occasion of diuerse woordes spoken.

Alphonsus kyng of Naples had a Jester in his Court, who made a booke, and kepte a rekenyng of all folies, especially suche as he thought to bee fokes, of all those gentlemen and others that waited in the court, wheer at the kyng tooke greate pleasure oftentymes. And so it happened that the kyng hauyng a More in his house, sent the same manne into Leuante, with three or fower thousande pound in his purse to buye horses in *Affrica*. The Jester seeyng this acte, did put it in his booke of remembraunce for a plaine folie. Now it happened that within a little while after, the kyng asked this Jester for his booke, because he had not seen it of a long time before. And in readyng vpon his booke, where he found many merie mad toyes, he hit at length vpō himself and the More, vnto whom he had giuen three thousande pounde, to buye horses for hym in Barbaie. Wherevpon the kyng somwhat chaũged in colour, asked hym in his anger, why he had put hym in his booke after that sorte. I haue put you in my booke (q̃ the Jester) because you haue plaied the verie foole, to giue the bestowyng of so muche money to a strainger, whom you shall neuer se againe. And what if he come againe (q̃ the kyng) and bryng the horses with hym, haue I then plaied the foole? Well (q̃ the Jester) so sone as he is come, I will then putte out your name out of my booke, and put his name in your place. For then I muste needes take hym to bee a more foole then you are a greate deale. But till

he come, you shalbe in my booke, God willyng.

Pleasant sport made, by rehearsing of a whole matter.

The nature and whole course of a matter, beyng largely set out with a comely behauour, doeth muche delite the hearers, and giueth good cause of greate pastyme. This difference is betwene a ieste in a woorde, and a Ieste vttered in a long tale. That whiche is still delitefull, with what wordes soeuer you tell it, is conteined in the substance or nature of a long tale: that whiche loseth his grace by alteration of a worde, is conteined in the nature of a worde. Thei that can liuely tell pleasant tales, and merie deedes doen, and set them out aswell with gesture, as with voice, leauyng nothyng behinde, that maie serue for beautifiyng of their matter: are moste mete for this purpose, wherof assuredly there are but fewe. And whatsoeuer he is, that can aptly tell his tale, and with countenaunce, voice, and gesture so temper his report, that the hearers maie still take delite: hym compt I manne worthie to be highly esteined. For vndoubtedly no man can doe any suche thyng, excepte thei haue a greate mother witt, and by experience confirme suche their comelinesse, whereunto by Nature thei were moste apt. Many a man readeth histories, heareth Fables, seeth worthie actes dooen, euen in this our age but fewe can sett them out accordyngly, and tell them liuely, as the matter self requireth to bee tolde. The kindes of delityng in this sorte are diuers: wherof I will sette for the many, as hereafter thei shall followe.

Difference betwixt a iest in a woorde, and a ieste in a long tale.

Sporte moued by tellyng of old tales.

If there bee any old tale or straunge historie, well and wittely applied to some man liuyng, all meane loue to heare it of life. As if one wer called *Arthur*, some good fellowe that were well acquainted with kyng *Arthures* booke, and the knightes of the rounde Table, would want no matter to make good sport, and for a nede would vnd hym knight of the round Table, or els proue hym to be one of his kinne, or els (whiche wer muche) proue him to be *Arthur* himself. And so like wise of other names, merie panions would make mad pastyme.

Oftentymes the deformitie of a mannes bodie, giueth matter enough to bee right merie, or els a picture in shape like an other man,

Deformitie of bodie moueth mirthe.

man, will make some to laughright hartely. One beyng greeued with an other manne, saied in his anger, I will set thee out in thy colours, I will shewe what thou art. The other beyng therewith muche chafed, shewe ꝙ he, what thou canste: with that he shewed hym, pointyng with his finger, a man with a bottle Nose, blobbe cheeked, and as redde as Butchers bowle, euen as like the other man, as any one in all the worlde could be. I neede not to saie that he was angrie. An other good fellowe beyng merily disposed, called his acquaintaunce vnto hym and saied: Come hether I saie, and I will shewe thee as very a loute, as euer thou sawest in all thy life before, with that he offered hym at his commyng, a steele glasse to looke in. But surely I thinke he looked a wrie, for if I had been in his case, I would haue told him that I espied a muche greater loute, before I sawe the glasse.

Augmenting or deminishyng.

In augmentyng or diminishyng without all reason, we giue good cause of muche pastyme. As *Diogenes* seyng a pretie toune, hauyng a greate paire of gates at the commyng in: Take heede quoth he, you men of this toune, least your toune run out of your gates. That was a meruailous bigge gate I trowe, or els a wōderfull little toune, where suche passage should be made.

A Frier disposed to tell misteries, opened to the people that the soule of man was so little, that a leuen thousande might dance vpon the naile of his thumbe. One meruailyng muche at that, I praie you maister Frier quoth he, where shall the Piper stande then, when suche a number shall kepe so small a roume.

Openyng a weightie or vnknowne thyng.

Mirthe is moued, when vpon a trifle or a woorde spoken, an vnknowne matter & weightie affaire is opened. As if one should finde faulte with some mannes sumptuous buildyng, or other suche thyng: whiche had found muche fauour at the same mannes hande: an other might saie, well sir, he that builded this house, saued your worshipp from hangyng when the tyme was. A necessary note for hym, thankfully to remēber the builder of that house, and not slaunderously to speake euill of hym.

Dissembling

It is a pleasant dissēbling, when we speake one thing merily and thinke an other earnestly, or els when wee praise that whiche otherwise deserueth dispraise, to the shamyng of those that are taken, not to be moste honest.

As in speakyng of one that is well knowne to bee naught, to saie emong all men that are seen too, there is one that lacketh his reward. He is the diligentiest fellowe in his callyng of all other, he hath traueiled in behalfe of his countrey, he hath watched daie and night to further his Common weale, and to aduaunce the dignitie thereof, and shall he goe emptie home? Who stoode by it at suche a feeld, who plaied the manne and cried, stoppe the Theef, when suche a manne was robbed? Who seeth good rule kepte in suche a place? Can any here charge hym with baudrie? Whiche of you all dare saie, or can saie that euer you sawe hym dronken, if then these be true, ought not suche to be seen too: and rewarded accordingly? For praisyng the vnworthy, I remember once that our worthie *Latimer*, did sett out the deuill for his diligence wonderfully, and preferred hym for that purpose, before all the Bushops in Englande. And no doubte, the wicked be more busie and stirryng, then the children of light be in their generation.

What talke you of suche a manne (saieth an other) there is an honest man ye maie be assured. For if a man had neede of one, he is readie at a pinche, his bodie sweates for honestie, if you come to him in a hotte Somners daie, you shall se his honestie in suche sorte to reeke, that it would pitie any Christian soule liuyng. He hath more honestie with hym then he needes, and therefore bothe is able and will lende, where it pleaseth hym best. Beware of him aboue all men that euer you knewe. He hath no fellowe, there is none suche, I thinke he will not liue long, he is so honest a man, the more pitie that suche good fellowes should knowe what death meaneth. But it maketh no matter when he is gone, all the world will speake of hym, his name shall neuer dye, he is so well known vniuersallie.

Thus wee maie mockyngly speake well of hym, when there is not a noughtier fellowe within all Englande againe, and euen as well sette out his noughtnesse this waie, as though we had in verie deede vttered all his noughtie conditions plainlie, and without iestyng. Emong all that euer were pleasaunt in this kinde of delite, *Socrates* beareth the name, and maie worthely chalenge praise. Sir Thomas More with vs here in Englande, had an excellent gifte, not onely in this kinde, but also in all other pleasante

delites, whose witte euen at this howre, is a wonder to all the worlde, and shall bee vndoubtedlie euen vnto the worldes ende. Unto this kinde of dissemblyng, is nexte adioynyng a maner of speeche, when wee giue an honest name to an euill deede. As whē I would call one accordynglie, that is of a noughtie behauioure, to saie: Ah sirrha, you are a Marchaunte in deede: where as I thinke a Marchauntes name is honest. Some old fellowes, when thei thinke one to bee an Heretique, thei will saie he is a Gospeller. Some newe fellowes when thei thinke on a Papist, thei will call hym straight a Catholique, and bee euen with hym at the landes ende. Cōtrariwise, some will giue an euill name to a good thyng: As a Father louyng his sonne tenderlie, and hauyng no cause to bee greeued with hym, will sometymes saie to hym: Come hether sir knaue, and the Mother merelie beyng disposed, will saie to her sweete Soonne: Ah you little bozesonne, will you serue me so. Where as I thinke some women that ofte saie so, will sweare vppon a booke thei are none suche, and almoste I had saied, I dare sweare for some of them my self, if God had not forbidden me to sweare at all.

This kinde also is prette, when wee gather an other thyng by a mannes tale, then he would gladlie wee should gather. When *Liuius Salinator* a Romaine Capitaine, had kepte the Castell of *Tarentum*, losyng the Toune to *Hannibal* his enemie, and that *Maximus* thereupon had laied siege to thesame Toune, and got it againe by the sweard: Then *Salinator* whiche thus kepte the Castell, desired hym to remember, that through his meanes he gotte the Toune. Why should I not (qᵖ he) thinke so? For if you had neuer loste it, I had neuer gotte it.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

To dissemble sometymes, as though wee vnderstoode not what one meant, declareth an apt witte, and muche deliteth suche as here it. *Diogenes* was asked on a tyme, what Wine he loued beste to drinke. Marie (qᵖ he) on other mannes wine, meanyng that he loued that drinke beste that coste hym leaste. The same *Diogenes* like wise was asked what one should giue hym, to lette hym haue a blowe at his hedde, Marie a Helmet qᵖ he.

Diogenes.

One *Ofilius* a *Libian* borne (as witnesseth *Macrobius*) saied vnto *Tullie*, when he spake his mynde vpon a matter. Sir,

I

I heare you not, I praie you speake louder. No (quoth *Tullie*) That is a meruaile to me, for as I dooe remember, your Eares are well bored through, meanyng that he was nailed vpon a Pillorie, or els had holes made in his Eares, whiche might serue (as *Tullie* iested) to receiue open aire.

An other beyng sore offended vpon some cause with a fellowe, who had loste his Eares for good cause, saied in his heate. I will handell thee like a knaue, seest thou now. And heapyng woordes vppon woordes, would gladlie belike that the partie should haue caried them awaie, and well remembred them, and therefore said sumouslie vnto hym, dooest thou heare me? Vppon that, one that stoode by, saied to this angrie gentilman. I doubte sir, that this Pillorie fellowe dooeth not heare you at all. For as you remember he loste his Eares of late, and how can he heare that hath no Eares at all. With that the gentlemannes anger was altered to mirthe and laughter, and so thei all departed.

When *Metellus* tooke muster, and required *Cæsar* to bee there, not abidyng that he should bee absent, though his eyes greued him, and said: what man doe you se nothing at all? Yes Marie (q *Cæsar*) as euill as I se, I can se a lordship of yours (the which was fower or fiue miles frō Rome) declaryng that his buildyng was ouer sumptuous, and so houge withall (muche aboue his degree) that a blinde man might almoste see it. Now in those daies ouercostly buildynges was generally hated, because men sought by suche meanes to get fame, and beare rule in the cōmon weale.

The like also is of one *Nasica*, who when he came to the Port *Ennius*, and asked at the gates if *Ennius* were at home, the maide of the house beyng so commaunded by her maister, made answere that he was not within. And when he perceiued, that she so saied by her maisters commaundemente, he wente straight his waie, and saied no more.

Now shortly after when *Ennius* came to *Nasica*, and called for hym at the doore, *Nasica* cried out a loude, and saied, Sirrha, I am not at home? What manne (quoth *Ennius*) I heare thee speake. Do not I knowe thy voice? Then (q *Nasica*.) Ah shamelesse man that thou art, when I sought thee at thy home, I did beleue thy maide, when she saied thou waste not at home, and wilte

Ennius pleasaunt aunswere to Nasica.

not thou beleue me, when I tell thee myne owne self, that I am not at home.

A man mocked with the same he bringeth.

It is a pleasant hearyng, when one is mocked with the same that he bryngeth. As whē one *Q. Opimius* hauyng an euill name for his light behauiour, had saied to a pleasaunt man, *Egilius* that semed to be wanton of liuyng, and yet was not so: Ah my sweete darlyng *Egilia*, whē wilt thou come to my house sweete wenche, with thy rocke and thy spindell: I dare not in good faithe (q she) my mother hath forbidden me, to come in any suspected house, where euill rule is kepte.

An Eremite in Italie, professyng a meruailous straight life, and eschewyng the Citee dwelte in deserte, where he made hymself a Caue, wrought by his owne handes with Spade and Shouell, and coueryng thesame with boughes and yearth, laye there in his Couche or Cabine liuyng in contemplation, as one that vtterlie had forsaken the worlde, whereyppon he came in greate credite with the people, and especiallie with the women of that Toune, as by Nature women are more apte to beleeue, and readier giuen to Superstition then menne are. Afterwardes it appeared that this Eremites holinesse was altogether counterfeit, and he founde a verie leude manne. For it was knowne and well proued, that he had the companie of diuers Gentilwoman of that Citee, and therefore beyng examined openlie, and greeuously rebuked, he confessed that he had the vse of diuers Ladies there. Whereyppon a Register that tooke the note of all their names, beeyng muche greeued with his filthie behauiour, especiallie because he had vsed so many, saied thus. Ah thou vile man. Is there any other with whom thou haste been acquainted. Saie on beaste and shame the Deuill. The poore Eremite beeyng wonderfullie rebuked of euery bodie, and meruailous sorie of suche his faultes priuelie committed, and openly knowne. Saied to the Register in this wise. Sir, seyng I am charged to saie the truthe, and that the holie mother Churche willeth me to leaue nothyng vnrehearsed, that the rather vppon my plaine confession, I maie the sooner haue absolution: In good faith maister Register (quoth he) I doe not remember any other sauyng your wife onely, who was the firste and the laste that euer I haue touched, since I made my

Graue,

Graue, and therefore if it please you to put her into your booke also, you maie boldlie doe it. For surely she was very louyng to me. With that the Register in a greate heate stoode vp, and castyng his Pen out of his hande, would haue been at the Eremite rather then his life. The people laughed hartely, to see the Register that was so hastie before, to charge the simple Eremite with his wanton folies, to be in suche sort touched with his wiues default. And many then there (as yong men be in suche cases forward) would in any wise, that the Register should haue written his wiues name in his owne booke, *ad eternam rei memoriam.*

Those Iestes are bitter whiche haue a hid vnderstandyng in them, whereof also a man maie gather muche more then is spoken. A homely fellowe made his wofull lamentation to *Diogenes* in moste pitifull sort, because his wife had hanged her self vppon a Figtree, hoppyng to finde some comfort at his hande. But *Diogenes* hearyng this straunge deede, for the loue of God, qᵖ he, giue me some slippes of that Tree, that I might set them in some Orchard. The fruite liked hym well, and belike he thought that suche slippes, would haue been as good to dispatche noughtie women, as lime twigges are thought mete to catche wilde birdes withal.

Diogenes doggishe answere in despite of women.

An Archedeacon beyng nothyng so wise as he was wealthie, nor yet so learned as he was worshipfull, asked a yong man once whether he had a good witte or no. Yea Marie sir, qᵖ he, your witte is good enough, if you keepe it still and vse it not, for euery thyng as you knowe, is the worse for the wearyng. Thou saiest euen trothe, qᵖ he, for that is the matter that I neuer vsed preachyng: For it is nothyng but a wastyng of witte, and a spendyng of winde. And yet if I would preache, I thinke I could doe as well as the beste of them. Yea sir, qᵖ he, but yet I would ye should not proue it, for feare a strainyng your selfe to muche: why? Doest thou feare that, qᵖ he, naie thou maiest bee assured, I will neuer preache so long as I liue, God beyng my good Lorde. There are ouer many Heretiques, for good meanyng menne to speake any thyng now adaies. You saie euen trothe, qᵖ the yong man, and so went foorthe, but to tell all, I had neede to haue tyme of an other worlde, or at the least to haue breath of an other bodie.

An vnlearned Orator made an Oration on a tyme, thyn-

kyng that he had with his well doyng delited muche all men, and moued them to mercie and pitie, and therefore sittyng doune, he asked one *Catulus* if he had not moued the hearers to mercie. Yes Marie, quoth he, and that too greate mercie and pitie bothe, for I thinke there is none here so hard harted, but thought your oration verie miserable, and therefore needefull to be greatly pitied.

Churlishe answeres like the hearers sometymes verie well. When the father was caste in iudgement, the Sonne seyng hym weepe: why weepe you Father, quoth he?) To whom his father answered. What? Shall I syng I praie thee, seyng by Lawe I am condemned to dye. *Socrates* likewise beeyng mooued of his wife, because he should dye an innocent and giltlesse in the lawe: Why for shame woman q he: wilt thou haue me to dye giltie and deseruyng. When one had faine into a ditche, an other pitiyng his fall, asked him and saied: Alas how got you into that pitte? Why Gods mother, quoth the other, dooest thou aske me how I gotte in, naie tell me rather in the mischeef, how I shall get out.

There is an other contrarie vnto this kinde, when a man sufferyth wrong, and grueth no sharpe answere at all. As whē *Cato* was stroken of one that caried a Cheste: Some saie a long poule, when the other saied after he had hit hym. Take heede sir I praie you: why, quoth *Cato*, dooest thou carie any thyng els.

Folie and lacke of naturall witt, or els want of honestie, giue good matter of mirthe often tymes. When *Scipio* beyng *Pretor*, had appointed vnto a certaine *Sicilian*, one to be his Lawier that was of a good house, and had an euill wit, little better then halfe a foole: I praie you, q the *Sicilian* to *Scipio*, appointe this Lawier for myne aduersarie, and let me haue none at all hardely.

Wishyng. In speakyng against an euill manne, and wishyng somwhat therevppon, a iestе maie seme delitefull. When an euill man had accused many persones, and none take any harme by hym, but rather were acquited from time to time, and taken the soner for honest men. Now would to Christes passion, q a noughtie fellowe: that he were myne accuser, for then should I bee taken for an honeste man also through his accusation. *Demonides* hauyng crooked feete, loste on a tyme bothe his shoone, whereuppon he made his praier to God, that his shoone might serue his feete, that had stolne

ſtolne them awaie. A ſhrewde wiſhe for hym that had the ſhoone, and better neuer weare ſhoone, then ſteale them ſo dearly.

Thinges gathered by coniecture, to ſeme otherwiſe then thei are, delite muche the eares beeyng well applied together. One was charged for robbyng a Churche, and almoſte euidently proued to be an offendour in that behalf, the ſaied manne to ſaue hymſelf harmeleſſe, reaſoned thus: Why, quoth he, how ſhould this bee, I neuer robbed houſe, nor yet was euer faultie in any offence beſides, how then ſhould I preſume to robbe a Churche? I haue loued the Churche more then any other, and will louers of the Churche robbe the Churche? I haue giuen to the Churche, how happeneth that I am charged to take from the Churche, hauyng euer ſo good mynde to Churche dignitie? Aſſure your ſelues thei paſſe little of the Churche, that would aduenture to robbe the Churche. Thei are no Churchemen, thei are maiſterleſſe men, or rather S. Nicolas clarkes that lacke liuyng, and goyng in Proceſſion takes the Churche to be an Hoſpitall for waie farers, or a praie for poore and needie beggers: but I am no ſuche man. Coniectures

Thynges wantyng, make good paſtyme beeyng aptly vſed. Alacke, alacke, if ſuche a one had ſomewhat to take too, and were not paſte grace: he would doe well enough without all doubte: I warrante hym, he wantes nothyng ſaieth an other of a couetous man, but one thyng, he hath neuer enough. Thynges wantyng.

Suche a manne hath no faulte but one, and if that were amended, all were well: what is that quoth an other? In good faith he is nought.

To giue a familiare aduiſe in the waie of paſtyme, deliteth muche the hearers. When an vnlearned Lawier had been hoarſe and almoſte loſte his voice with ouerlong ſpeakyng, one (*Crassus*) gaue hym counſell to drinke ſweete wine colde, ſo ſone as he came home. Why, ſaie he, I ſhall loſe my voice if I doe ſo. Marie, ſaie he, better doe ſo then vndo thy client, and loſe his matter altogether. Familar aduiſe giuyng.

But emong all other kindes of delite there is none that ſo muche comforteth and gladdeth the hearer, as a thyng ſpoken contrarie to the expectation of other. *Anaſtaſius* Emperour of Rome ſeeyng a handſome yong man there, whiche was muche like vnto hymſelf in countenaunce, aſked hym if euer his mother was Thynges ſpoken contrarie to expectation.

in

in Rome, as though he had been his baſtarde. No ſoꝛ ſothe (quoth he) but my father hath been here verie often: with that the Emperour was abaſhed, as though the Emperours owne mother had been an euill woman of her bodie.

When an vnlearned Phiſicion (as Englande lacketh none ſuche) had come to *Pauſanias* a noble gentleman, an aſked hym if he were not troubled muche with ſickeneſſe. No ſir (quoth he) I am not troubled at all, I thanke GOD, becauſe I vſe not thy counſaile. Why dooe ye accuſe me (q the Phiſicion) that neuer tried me? Marie (q *Pauſanias*) if I had once tried thee, I ſhould neuer haue accuſed thee, ſoꝛ then had I been deade, and in my graue many daies agone.

An Engliſhe Phiſicion ridyng by the waie: and ſeyng a great companie of men gatherd togeather, ſent his man to knowe what the matter was, wherevpon his manne vnderſtandyng that one there was appointed to ſuffer ſoꝛ killyng a manne: came ridyng backe in all poſte haſte, and cried to his Maiſter, long befoꝛe he came at hym: Gette you hence ſir, gett you hence ſoꝛ Gods loue. What meaneſt thou (quoth his Maiſter.) Marie (quoth the ſeruant) yõder man ſhall dye ſoꝛ killyng of one man, and you I dare ſaie, haue killed a hundꝛed menne in your daies: Gette you hence therefoꝛe ſoꝛ Gods loue if you loue your ſelf.

An Italian hauyng a ſute here in Englande, to the Archbuſhop of Yoꝛke that then was, and commyng to Yoꝛke Toune at that tyme, when one of the Prebẽdaries there bꝛake his bꝛead, as thei terme it, and therupon made a ſolemne long diner, the which perhaps began at aleuen, and continued well nye fower in the after noone, at the whiche diner this Biſhoppe was: It ſo foꝛtuned that as the twere ſet, the Italian knockt at the Gate, vnto whom the Poꝛter perceiuyng his errande, anſwered, that my loꝛde Buſhop was at diner. The Italian departed, and returned betwixte vij. and one, the Poꝛter anſwered thei were yet at diner, he came again at twoo of the clocke, the Poꝛter told hym thei had not half dined: he came at thꝛee a clocke, vnto whom the Poꝛter in a heate anſwered neuer a woꝛde, but churliſhely did ſhut the gates vpon hym. Wherupon others told the Italian, that there was no ſpeaking with my loꝛde, almoſt al that daie, ſoꝛ the ſolemne diner ſake.

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The gentleman Italian, wondering muche at suche long sitting, and greatly greeued, because he could not then speake with the Bishoppes grace, departed straight towardes London, and leauyng the dispatche of his matters with a deare freend of his, toke his iourney towardes Italie. Three yeres after it happened that an Englisheman came to Roome, with whom this Italian by chaunce fallyng acquainted, asked hym if he knewe the Bishopp of Yorke. The Englisheman saied, he knewe hym right well. I praie you tell me (quoth the Italian) hath that Bishoppe yet dined? The Englisheman muche meruailyng at his question, could not tell what to saie. The Italian up and told hym all, as I haue said before, whereat thei bothe laughed hartely.

Examples be innumerable that serue for this purpose.

A man maie by hearyng a loude lye, prettely mocke the lye by reportyng a greater lye. When one beyng of a lowe degree, and his father of meane wealthe, had vaunted muche of the good house that his father kepte, of twoo Beeues spente weekely, and halfe a score Tunne of wine dronke in a yere, an other good fellowe hearyng hym lye so shamefully: in deede (quoth he) Beefe is so plentifull at my maister your fathers house, that an Ore in one daie is nothyng, and as for Wine, Beggers that come to the doore, are serued by whole gallondes. And as I remember your father hath a spryng of wine in the middest of his Courte, God continue his good house keepyng.

I lie mocked with a lye.

Oftentymes we maie graunte to an other, thesame that thei will not graunte to vs. When a base borne fellowe, whose parentes were not honeste, had charged *Lelius* that he did not liue according to his auncestors: yea, but thou doest liue, quoth *Lelius*, according to thy elders.

Grauntyng to other the same, that thei will not graunt to vs.

One beeyng a gentleman in birthe, and an vnthrifte in conditions, called an other man in reproche begger and slaue. In deede sir, quoth the poore mame, you are no begger borne, but I feare me ye will dye one.

Better bee borne a begger, then dye a begger.

An other likewise called *Diogenes* varlet and caitife, to whō *Diogenes* answered in this wise. In deede suche a one haue I been as thou now art, but such a one as I now am, shalt thou neuer be.

Salust beyng a gentleman borne, and a man of muche wealth, and

and yet rather by birthe Noble: Then by true dealyng honeſt, enueighed muche the eſtimation whiche *Tullie* had emong all men, and ſaied to hym before his face: Thou art no gentleman borne, and therefore not meete to beare office in this common weale: In deede (q̄ *Tullie*) my nobilitie beginnes in me, and thyne dooeth ende in thee. Meanyng thereby that though *Saluſt* were borne noble, yet he were like to dye wretched, whereas *Tullie* beeyng borne bothe poore and baſe, was like to dye with honour, becauſe of his vertue, wherein cheefly conſiſteth Nobilitie.

Pleaſaunt diſſemblyng in outward behauiour.

There is a pleaſaunt kinde of diſſemblyng, when twoo meetes together, and the one can not well abide the other: and yet thei bothe outwarly ſtriue to vſe pleaſaunte behauiour, and to ſhewe muche courteſie: yea, to contende on bothe partes, whiche ſhould paſſe other in vſyng of faire woordes, and makyng of liuely countenaunces: ſeekyng by diſſemblyng, the one to deceiue the other.

Checkyng a lyar with an open mocke.

When we ſee a notable lye vttered, wee checke the offendour openly with a pleaſaunte mocke. As when one *Vibius Curius* did ſpeake muche of his peres, and made hymſelf to be muche ponger then he was (q̄ *Tullie*) why then maiſter *Vibius*, as farre as I can gather by my reckenyng, when you and I declamed together laſte, you were not then borne by all likelihoode, if that bee true whiche you ſaie.

When *Fabia Dolobella* ſaied to the ſame *Tullie*, that ſhe was but thirtie peres of age: As women by their good willes would neuer bee old: I thinke ſo (q̄ *Tullie*) for I haue heard you ſaie no leſſe then twentie peres agoe.

A Soldiour that thought his eſtimation, ſtoode moſte in the vertue of his hande Gunne, made a meruailous bragge of it, and ſaied he was able to ſhoote leauell a greate deale farther, then any one there would beleue hym to ſaie truthe: wherevpon he called for his man to beare witneſſe of the ſame, and aſked him whether it were ſo or no. In deede, q̄ his man, you ſaie truthe, but then you muſt remember ſir, you had the winde with you when you ſhotte ſo farre. Belike he thought, there would neuer come ſuche a Winde againe.

For

¶ Of disposition and apt orderyng of thynges.

I Haue trauailed hetherto in teachyng the right waie, to finde meete matter for euery cause, vsyng Arte as my slender witte could best yeelde. And now, next and immediately after inuention, I thinke meete to speake of frampng, and placyng an Oration in order, that the matter beeyng aptly seteld and couched together: might better please the hearers, and with more ease be learned of all men. And the rather I am earnest in this behalfe, because I knowe that all thinges stande by order, and without order nothing can be. For by an order we are borne, by an order we liue, and by an order wee make our ende. By an order one rule as heede, and other obey as members. By an order realmes stande, and Lawes take force. Yea, by an order the whole worke of Nature, and the perfite state of all the Elementes haue their appointed course. By an order we deuise, we learne and frame our doynges to good purpose. By an order the Carpenter hath his squire, his rule, and his plomette. The Tailour his mette yarde and his measure: the Mason his former, and his plane, and euery one according to his callyng, frameth thinges thereafter. For though matter be had, and that in greate plentie: yet all is to no purpose, if an order be not vsed. As for example: What auaileth Stone, if Masons doe not woorke it: What good doeth clothe, if Tailours take no measure, or doe not cut it out? Though Timber bee had for makyng a ship, and all other thynges necessarie, yet the shipp shall neuer be perfite, till workemen begin to set to their handes, and ioyne it together. In what a comely order hath God made man, whose shape is not thought perfite, if any part bee altered? Yea, all folke would take hym for a monster, whose feete should occupie the place of his handes. An armie neuer getteth victorie, that is not in araie, and set in good order of battaill. So an Oration hath little force with it, and doeth smally profite, whiche is vtterde without all order. And needes must he wander, that knowes not how to goe, neither can he otherwise chuse but stumble

Order of what sort it is.

that

that gropyng in the darcke, can not tell where he is: yea, he muſt needes bothe leaue muche vnſpoken, repeate often thinges ſpoke before not knowyng what, not where to ſpeake beſte: that giues hymſelf rather to take the chaunce of fortune, then to followe the right waie of aduiſed counſaill. What ſhould a manne doe with a weapon, that knoweth not how to vſe it? What though one haue mountaines of golde, what auaileth hym to haue ſuche heapes, if he can not tell how to beſtowe thē? It is not enough to haue learnyng, but it is all to vſe learnyng. Therefore, becauſe this parte of beſtowyng matter, and placyng it in good order is ſo neceſſarie: I will ſhewe what the learned haue ſaied in this behalfe, ſo muche as I ſhall thinke needefull.

¶ *Diſpoſition what it is.*

Diſpoſition, as *Tullie* dooeth define it: Is a certaine beſtowyng of thynges, and an apte declaryng what is meete for euery parte, as tyme and place doe beſte require.

¶ *Dimidyng of diſpoſition.*

There are twoo kindes of diſpoſyng, and placyng of matter. The one is, when we followe the appointed rule of *Rhetorique*, the whiche Nature doeth almoſte teache vs: The other is wholie faſhioned by the diſcretion of hym that makes the Oration.

Rhetorique what it teacheth for orderyng of thynges.

Rhetorique dooeth teache vs, and Nature alſo leadeth vs therevnto, firſte to ſpeake ſomewhat before we open our matter, after that to tell the cauſe of our entente, ſettyng foorthe the matter plainly that all maie vnderſtande it, then to proue our owne cauſe by good reaſon, and to confute all ſuche thynges, as are contrary to our purpoſe: laſte of all, to gather the whole in a ſomme, concluding the matter breefly, and ſo to make an ende. Now to place thoſe reaſons, whiche ſhould bothe ſerue to confirme, and to confute, and to tell in what parte of the Oration, it were beſte to vſe this reaſon and that reaſon, that the rather we might proue, teach and perſwade: a right wiſeman had neede to take this matter in hande. For euen as the tyme, the place, the iudge, and the matter it ſelf ſhall giue cauſe: ſo muſte a wiſe bodie take his aduauntage. Sometymes it ſhall bee expediente to vſe no preface at all, or els when the matter is well knowne, it will bee good to leaue the

matter

matter vntolde, and straight to seeke the confirmation, vsyng some strong reason for the same purpose. Yea, sometymes it maie doe good, to neglect the naturall order, and beginne first to proue the cause, and afterward to tell it better then it was tolde before.

If the Iudge or the hearers, shalbe wearied with other reportes before, it is best to go to the matter, and proue it out of hande, with as breef reasons and as strong as can bee gathered possible. And in prouyng of our matters we had neede euermore, rather to weye our reasons, then to number them, and thinke not that then we shall doe beste when we haue the strongest. And firste of all the strongest should be vsed, and the other placed in the middest of the oration, the whiche beyng heaped together will make a good muster. And yet this also would be learned, wheras we vsed the best reasons at the firste, wee should also reserue some that were like good for the latter ende: that the hearers might haue the fresshe in their remembrance, when thei should giue iudgement. The slender reasons that can do lesse good, and yet not at all (for some may better be omitted) would be placed in the middest (as I saied) that bothe thei might be lesse marked, or beyng heaped there together thei might doe more good, especially when bothe weightie reasons went before, and weightie reasons also followed after. Now a wiseman that hath good experience in these affaires, and is able to make hymself a *Rhetorique* for euery matter, will not be bound to any precise rules, nor keepe any one order, but suche onely as by reason he shall thinke best to vse, beyng maister ouer art, rather then art should be maister ouer hym, rather makyng art by witt, then confoundyng witte by art. And vndoubtedly euen in so dooyng he shall doe right well, and content the hearers accordyngly. For what mattereth whether we followe our booke or no, if wee followe witte and appoint our self an order, suche as maie declare the truthe more plainly? Yea, some that bee vnlearned, and yet haue right good wittes: will deuise with themselues without any booke learnyng, what thei will saie, and how muche thei will saie appointyng their order, and partyng it into three or fower partes or more if neede be, suche as thei shall thinke especiall pointes, and moste meete to bee touched. Whose doynges as I can well like, and muche commende them for the same: so I would thinke them

Argumentes how thei should bee digested.

muche more able to doe muche better: If thei either by learnyng followed a paterne, or els knewe the preceptes whiche leade vs to right order. Rules were therefore giuen, and by muche obseruation gathered together, that those whiche could not see Art hid in an other mannes doynges, should yet see the rules open all in an order set together: and thereby iudge the rather of their doynges, and by earnest imitation, seeke to resemble suche their inuention. I can not denie, but that a right wise manne vnlearned, shall doe more good by his Naturall witte, then twentie of these common wittes that wante Nature to helpe Arte. And I knowe that rules were made first by wisemen, and not wisemen made by rules. For these preceptes serue onely to helpe our neede, suche as by Nature haue not suche plentifull giftes. And as for other vnto whom Nature is more fauourable, thei are rather putt the soner in remembrance, that suche lessons are then so taught, as though thei neuer knewe them, or els neuer would vse them. And therefore a certain learned man and of muche excellencie, beyng asked what was suche a figure, and suche a Troye in *Rhetorique*: I can not tell (quod he) but I am assured, if you looke in my booke of mine Orations, you shall not faile but finde them. So that though he knewe not the name of suche, and suche figures, yet the Nature of them was so familliare to his knowledge, that he had the vse of them when soeuer he had neede. Now though this manne could well thus doe, beyng of suche notable vnderstandyng, yet it were folie that I should followe his waie, whiche want so good a witt. And I thinke euen he hym self should not haue lofte by it neither, if he had seen that in a glasse, whiche he often vsed to doe without knowledge. Manne is forgetfull, and there is nowe so wise but counsaill maie doe hym good. Yea, he shall doe muche better that knoweth what arte other menne haue vsed, what inuention thei haue followed, what order thei haue kept, and how thei haue best dooen in euery parte. If he like not theirs, he maie vse his owne, and yet none dooeth so euill (I thinke) but some good maie be gotte by hym. The wise therefore will not refuse to heare: and the ignorant for wante, had neede to seeke a will.

The vse of Arte.

Thende of the second booke.

The

¶ The third Booke.

¶ Of apt chusyng and framyng of woordes and sentences together, called Elocution.

AND now we are come to that part of *Rhetorique*, the whiche aboue all other is moste beautifull, wherby not onely wordes are aptly vsed, but also sentences are in right order framed. For whereas Inuention helpeth to finde matter, and Dispositiō serueth to place argumentes: Elocution getteth woordes to set forthe Inuention, and with suche beautie cōmendeth the matter, that reason semeth to be clad in Purple, walkyng afore bothe bare and naked. Therefore *Tullie* saieth well, to finde out reason and aptly to frame it, is the part of a wiseman, but to commende it by wordes and with gorgious talke to tell our conceipt, that is onely proper to an Oratour. Many are wise, but fewe haue the gift to set forthe their wisedome. Many can tell their mind in Englishe, but fewe can vse meete termes and apte order: suche as all men should haue, and wisemen will vse: suche as needes must bee had when matters should be vtterd. Now then what is he at whō all men wonder, and stand in a mase at the vewe of his wit: whose doynges are beste estemed? Whom we doe moste reuerence, and compt half a God emong men? Euen suche a one assuredly that cā plainly, distinctly, plentifully and aptly, vtter bothe wordes & matter, and his talke can vse suche compositiō, that he maie appere to keepe an vniformitie, and (as I might saie) a nomber in the vttering of his sentence. Now an eloquent man beyng smally learned can doe muche more good in perswadyng by shift of wordes, and meete placyng of matter: then a greate learned clarke shalbe able with great store of learning, wāting wordes to set forth his meanyng. Wherefore I muche meruaile that so many seke the onely knowledge of thinges, without any minde to cōmende or set forth their intendement: seyng none can knowe either what thei are, or what thei haue without the gift of vttrāce. Yea bring thē to speak their minde, & enter in talke with suche as are saied to be learned, and you shall finde in thē suche lacke of vttrance, that if you iudge thē by their tong, and expressyng of their minde: you must needes

Eloquente men moste estemed.

saie thei haue no learnyng. Wherin me thinkes thei doe like some riche snudges hauyng greate wealthe, goe with their hose out at heeles, their shooes out at toes, and their coates out at bothe elbowes. For who can tell if suche men are worthe a groate, when their apparell is so homely, and all their behauour so base? I can tell them by none other name but slouens, that maie haue good geare, and neither can nor yet will once weare it clenly. What is a good thyng to a manne, if he neither knowe the vse of it, nor yet (though he knowe it) is able at all to vse it? If we thinke it comelinesse and honestie to set forthe the bodie with handsome apparill and thinke them worthie to haue money, that bothe can and will vse it accordyngly: I can not otherwise see but that this parte deserueth praise, whiche standeth wholie in settyng forthe matter, by apt wordes and sentences togethers, and beautifieth the tonge with greate chaunge of colours, and varietie of figures.

Barbarous Clerkes, no better then slouens.

¶ *Fower partes belonging to Elocution.*

i. Plainnesse.
ii. Aptnesse.
iii. Composition.
iiii. Ornation.

Plainnesse, what it is.

EMong all other lessons this should first be learned, that we neuer affect any straunge pinkehorne termes, but to speake as is cõmonly receiued: neither seking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuyng ouercareles, vsyng our speeche as moste men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue doen. Some seeke so far for outlandishe English, that thei forget altogether their mothers langage. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tell what thei say: and yet these fine English clerkes will saie, thei speake in their mother tonge, if a manne should charge them for counterfeityng the kynges Englishe. Some far iourneyed gentleman at their retourne home, like as thei loue to goe in forraine apparell, so thei will pouder their talke with ouersea langage. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke Frēche English and neuer blushe at the matter. And other chops in with Englishe Italinated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our Englishe speakyng, the whiche is, as if an Oratour that professeth

ſeſſeth to vtter his mynde in plaine Latine, would needes ſpeake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of ſtraunge antiquitie. The Lawyer will ſtore his ſtomacke with the prayſyng of Pedlers. The Auditor in makyng his accompt and reckenyng, cometh in with *ſiſe ſould*, and *cater denere*, for vj.ſ.iiij.d. The fine courtier, will talke nothing but *Chaucer*. The miſticall wiſemen and Poeticall Clerkes, will ſpeake nothyng but quainte Prouerbes, and blinde Allegories, delightyng muche in their owne darckeneſſe, eſpecially, when none can tell what thei doe ſaie. The vnlearned or fooliſhe phantaſticall, that ſmelles but of learnyng (ſuche fellowes as haue ſeen learned men in their daies) will ſo Latin their tongues, that the ſimple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke ſurely thei ſpeake by ſome reuelation. I knowe them that thinke *Rhetorique* to ſtande wholie vpon darke woordes, and he that can catche an vnke horne terme by the taile, hym thei counte to bee a fine Engliſheman, and a good *Rhetorician*. And the rather to ſette out this folie, I will adde ſuche a letter as Willyam Sommer hym ſelf, could not make a better for that purpoſe. Some will thinke and ſweare it too, that there was neuer any ſuche thyng written: well, I will not force any man to beleeue it, but I will ſaie thus muche, and abide by it too, the like haue bin made heretofore, and praiſed aboue the Moone.

A letter deuiſed by a Lincolneſhire man, for a voide benefice, to a gentleman that then waited vppon the Lorde Chauncellour, for the tyme beyng.

Vnke horne terme.

Ponderyng, expendyng, and reuolutyng with my ſelf, youre ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacitie for mundane affaires: I cānot but celebrate, and extoll your magnifical verteritie aboue all other. For how could you haue adepted ſuche illuſtrate prerogatiue, and domeſticall ſuperioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been ſo fertile and wonderfull pregnant. Now therefore beeyng accerſited to ſuche ſplendente renoume, and dignitie ſplendidious: I doubte not but you will adiumate ſuche poore adnichilate orphanes, as whilome ware condiſciples with you, and of antique familiaritie in Lincolneſhire. Emong whom I beyng a Scholaſticall panion, obteſtate your ſublimitie, to extoll myne infirmitie. There is a Sacerdotall dignitie in my native Countrey,

trey, contiguate to me, where I now contemplate: whiche your worshipfull benignitie could sone impetrate for me, if it would like you to extende your sedules, and collaude me in them to the right honourable lorde Chauncellor, or rather Archigrammacian of Englande. You knowe my literature, you knowe the pastorall promotion, I obtestate your clemencie, to inuigilate thus muche for me, accordyng to my confidence, and as you knowe my condigne merites for suche a compendious liuyng. But now a relinquishe to fatigate your intelligence, with any more friuolous verbositie, and therefore he that rules the climates, be euermore your beautreur, your fortresse, and your bulwarke. *Amen.*

Dated at my Dome, or rather Mansion place in Lincolneshire, the penulte of the monethe Sextile. *Anno Millesimo, quillesimo, trillesimo.* *Per me Ioannes Octo.*

What wiseman readyng this Letter, will not take hym for a very Caulf that made it in good earnest, and thought by his pynke pot termes to get a good Parsonage. Doeth wit reste in strange wordes, or els standeth it in wholsome matter, and apt declaryng of a mannes minde? Doue we not speake because we would haue other to understande vs, or is not the tongue giuen for this ende, that one might knowe what an other meaneth? And what vnlearned man can tell, what half this letter signifieth? Therfore, either we must make a difference of Englishe, and saie some is learned Englishe, and other some is rude English, or thone is court talke the other is countrey speeche, or els we must of necessitie banishe all suche *Rhetorique*, and vse altogether one maner of language. When I was in Cambrige, and student in the kynges College, there came a man out of the toune with a pinte of wine in a pottle pot, to welcome the Prouost of that house, that lately came from the court. And because he would best owe his present like a clerke, dwelling emong the scholers: he made humbly his three curtesies and saied in this maner. Ha good euen my good Lorde, and well might your Lordshyp fare, vnderstandyng that your Lordshippe was come, and knowyng that you are a worshipfull Prelate, and keepes abominable house: I thought it my duetie to come incantiuante, and bring you a pottell of wine, the whiche I beseche your Lordshipp take in good worthe. Here the simple man, beyng desi-

rous

rous to amende his mothers tongue, shewyng hymselfe not to be the wisest man that euer spake with tongue.

An other good fellowe of the countrey, beyng an Officer and Maior of a toune, and desirous to speake like a fine learned man, hauyng iuste occasion to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, saied after this wise in a greate heate. Thou pngrame and vacation knaue, if I take thee any more within the Circumcision of my dampnation: I will so corrupte thee, that all vacation knaues shall take ensample by thee. Roperite chidyng.

An other standyng in muche neede of money, and desirous to haue some helpe at a gentlemannes handes, made his complainte in this wise. I praie you sir bee so good vnto me, as forbeare this halfe yeres rent. For so helpe me God and halidome, we are so taken on with contrary Bishoppes, with reuiues, and with Southsides to the King, that all our money is cleane gone. These woordes he spake for Contribution, Releef, and Subsidie. And thus wee see that poore simple men are muche troubled, and talke oftentymes thei knowe not what for lacke of witte, and waute of Latine and Frenche, whereof many of our straunge woordes full often are deriued. Those therefore that will eschue this folie, and acquaint them selues with the beste kinde of speeche, must seeke from tyme to tyme suche woordes as are commonly receiued, and suche as properly maie expresse in plaine maner, the whole conceipte of their mynde. And looke what woordes wee beste vnderstande, and knowe what thei meane: the same should soonest bee spoken, and first applied to the vtterance of our purpose.

Now whereas woordes be receiued, aswell Greke as Latine, to set forthe our meaning in the Englishe tongue, either for lacke of store, or els because wee would enriche the language: it is well doen to vse them, and no man therein can bee charged for any affectation, when all other are agreed to followe the same waie. There is no man agreeued when he heareth (Letters Patentes) and yet Patentes is Latine, and signifieth open to all men. The Communion is a fellowship, or a comyng together, rather Latin then Englishe: the kinges prerogatiue declareth his power ouer all aboue all other, and yet I knowe no man greeued for these termes, beyng vsed in their place, nor yet any one suspected for affectatiō.

when ſuche generall woꝛdes are ſpoken. The folie is eſpied, when either we will vſe ſuche woꝛdes as fewe men doe vſe, oꝛ vſe them out of place, when an other might ſerue muche better. Therefoꝛe to auoide ſuche folie, wee maie learne of that moſte excellent Oꝛatour *Tullie*, who in his third booke, where he ſpeaketh of a perfecte Oꝛatour, declareth vnder the name of *Craſſus*, that foꝛ the choiſe of woꝛdes fower thynges ſhould cheefly be obſerued. Firſt that ſuche woꝛdes as we vſe, ſhould bee proper vnto the tongue wherein wee ſpeake, againe, that thei bee plaine foꝛ all menne to perceiue: thirdlie, that thei bee apte and meete, moſte properly to ſette out the matter. Fourthly, that woꝛdes tranſlated from one ſignification to an other (called of the Grecians *Tropes*) bee vſed to beautifie the ſentence, as pꝛecious ſtones are ſette in a ryng to commende the gold.

Fower thinges obſerued foꝛ choiſe of woꝛdes.

¶ *Aptneſſe what it is.*

Such are thought apt woꝛdes, that pꝛoperly agree vnto that thyng whiche thei ſignifie, and plainly expꝛeſſe the Nature of the ſame. Therefoꝛe thei that haue regard of their eſtimation do warely ſpeake, and with choiſe vtter woꝛdes moſte apte foꝛ their purpoſe. In waightie cauſes graue woꝛdes are thought moſte nedefull, that the greatneſſe of the matter maie the rather appere in the vehemencie of their talke. So likewiſe of other like oꝛder muſt be taken. Albeit ſome not onely doe not obſerue this kind of aptneſſe, but alſo thei doe fall into muche fondnes, by vſyng woꝛdes out of place, and applyng them to diuers matters without all diſcretion. As thus. An ignoꝛant fellowe cõming to a gentlemans place, and ſeyng a greate flocke of ſhepe in his paſture, ſaid to the owner of thẽ, now by my truth ſir, here is as goodly an audience of ſhepe as euer I ſawe in my life. Who will not take this fellowe meter to talke with ſhepe, then ſpeake emong men?

Aptneſſe.

Vnapt vſyng of apt woꝛdes.

An other likewiſe ſeyng an houſe faire buildeo, ſaied to his fellowe thus: good loꝛde what a handſome phraſe of building is this? There are good woꝛdes euill vſed, when thei are not well applied and ſpoken to good purpoſe. Therefoꝛe I wiſhe that ſuche vntoward ſpeakyng, maie giue vs a good leſſon to vſe our tongue warely, that our woꝛdes and matter maie ſtill agree together.

¶ Of

¶ Of Compoſition.

When we haue learned vſual and accuſtomable wordes to ſet forthe our meanyng, wee ought to ioyne them together in apt order, that the Eare maie delite in hearyng the harmonie. I knowe ſome Engliſhemen that in this poincte haue ſuche a gifte in the Engliſhe, as fewe in Latine haue the like, and therefore delite the wiſe and learned ſo muche with their pleaſaunte compoſition: that manye reioyce when thei maie heare ſuche, and thinke muche learnyng is gotte when thei maie talke with them. Compoſition therefore is an apte ioynyng together of woordes in ſuche order, that neither the eare ſhall eſpie any gerre, nor yet any man ſhalbe dulled with ouerlong drawyng out of a ſentence, nor yet muche confounded with minglyng of clauſes ſuche as are needeleſſe, beyng heaped together without reaſon, and vſed without number. For by ſuche meanes the hearers will be forced to forget full ofte what was ſaied firſt, before the ſentence bee halfe ended: or els bee blinded with confoſſding of many thinges together. Some again will be ſo ſhort, and in ſuche wiſe curtall their ſentences, that thei had neede to make a cõmentarie immediatly after their meanyng, or els the moſte that heare them ſhalbe forced to keepe counſaill.

Compoſitiõ what it is.

Faultes in compoſition.

Some will ſpeake Oracles, that a manne can not tell whiche waie to take them, ſome will bee ſo fine and ſo Poeticall withall, that to their ſeemyng there ſhall not ſtande one haire a mille, and yet euery bodie els ſhall thinke theim meeter for a Ladies chamber, then for an eatneſt matter in any open aſſemblie.

Some will roue ſo muche and bable ſo farre without order, that a man would thinke thei had a greate loue to heare them ſelues ſpeake.

Some repeate one woorde ſo often, that if ſuche woordes could bee eaten, and chopte in ſo ofte as thei are vttered out, thei would choke the wideſt throte in all England. As thus. If a man knewe what a mannes life were, no man for any mannes ſake would kil any man, but one man would rather helpe an other man, conſidering man is borne for man to helpe man, and not to hate man. What man would not be choked, if he chopt all theſe men at once into his mouthe, and neuer dronke after it? Some vſe ouermuche

repetition of some one letter, as pitifull pouertie praieth for a pe-nie, but puffed presumption passeth not a poinct, pamperyng his panche with pestilent pleasure, procuryng his passe porte to poste it to hell pitt, there to be punished with paines perpetuall. Some will so sette their woordes, that thei muste bee faine to gape after euery woorde spoken, endyng one woorde with a vowell, and be-ginnyng the next with an other, whiche vndoubtedly maketh the talke to seeme moste vnpleasaunt. As thus. Equitie assuredlie e-uery iniurie auoideth. Some will sette the Cart before the horse, as thus. My mother and my father are bothe at home, as though the good manne of the house did weare no breeches, or that the graie Mare were the better Horse. And what though it often so happeneth (GOD wotte the more pittie) yet in speakyng at the least, lette vs keepe a naturall order, and sette the man before the woman for maners sake.

An other commyng home in haste, after a long journey, saieth to his man: Come hether sir knaue, helpe me of with my bootes and my spurres. I praie you sir, giue hym leaue first to plucke of your spurres, ere he meddle with your bootes, or els your man is like to haue a madde pluckyng. Who is so foolishe as to saie, the Counsaile and the Kyng, but rather the Kyng and his Counsaile the Father and the Sonne, and not contrary. And so likewise in all other, as thei are in degree first euermore to set them formost.

The wise therefore talkyng of diuers worthie men together, will firste name the worthiest, and keepe a decent order in repor-tyng of their tale. Some ende their sentences all alike, makyng their talke rather to appeare rimed Peter, then to seeme plaine speeche, the whiche as it muche delyteth beyng measurably vsed, so it muche offendeth when no meane is regarded. I heard a prea-cher delityng muche in this kinde of composition, who vsed so of-ten to ende his sentences with woordes like vnto that whiche went before, that in my iudgement there was not a dosen sentences in his whole sermon, but thei ended all in Rime for the moste parte. Some not best disposed wished the preacher a Lute, that with his rimed sermon he might vse some pleasant melodie, and so the peo-ple might take pleasure diuers waies, and dance if thei list. Certes there is a meane, and no reason to vse any one thing at al time, se-

yng

yng nothyng delyteth (be it neuer so good) that is alwaies vsed.

Quintilian likeneth the colours of *Rhetorique* to a mannes eye sight. And now (q he) I would haue all the bodie to be full of eyes, or nothyng but eyes: for then the other partes should wante their due place and proporcion. Some ouerthwartly sette their woordes, placyng some one a mile from his fellowes, not contented with a plaine and easie compossition, but seeke to set woordes thei can not tell how, and therefore one not likyng to be called, and by print published Doctour of Phisicke, would needes be named a Phisicke Doctour, wherein appeared a wonderfull composition (as he thought) strange vndoubtedly, but whether wise or no let the learned sitte in iudgement vpon that matter.

An other. As I rose in a Morning (q one) I mette a Carte full of stones emptie. Belike the manne was fastyng, when the Carte was full, and yet wee see that though straunge composition, his sentence appeareth darke.

Some will tell one thyng twentie tymes, now in, now out, and when a manne would thinke thei had almoste ended, thei are ready to begynne againe as freshe as euer thei were. Suche vain repetitions declare bothe wante of witte, and lacke of learnyng. Some are so homely in all their woorynges, and so grosse for their inuention, that thei vse altogether one maner of trade, and seeke no varietie to eschue tediousnesse.

Some burden their talke with needelesse copie, and will seeme plentifull when thei should bee shorte. An other is so curious and so fine of his tongue, that he can not tell in all the worlde what to speake. Euery sentence seemeth common, and euery woorde generally vsed is thought to bee foolishe in his wise iudgemente. Some vse so many interpositions, bothe in their talke and in their writyng, that thei make their sayinges as darcke as helle. Thus when faultes bee knowne thei maie bee auoided: and vertue the soner maie take place, when vice is forseen and eschued as euill.

Of Exornation.

When wee haue learned apte woordes, and vsuall phrases to sette foorthe our meanyng, and cunyngerly place theim without offence to the Eare, wee maie boldely commende

commende and beautifie our talke with diuers goodly colours, and delitefull translations, that our speeche maie seeme as bright and precious, as a riche stone is faire and orient.

Eroynation. Eroynation, is a gorgious beautifying of the tongue with borowed woordes, and change of sentence or speeche with muche varietie. First therefore (as *Tullie* saith) an oration is made to seme right excellent by the kinde self, by the colour and iuice of speeche.

Three maner of stiles or endityngs. There are three maner of stiles or enditinges, the greate or mighty kinde, when we vse greate woordes, or behement figures.

The small kinde, when wee moderate our heate by meaner woordes, and vse not the moste stirryng sentences.

The lowe kinde, when we vse no *Metaphores* nor translated woordes, nor yet vse any amplifications, but goe plainly to worke, and speake altogether in common woordes. Now in all these three kindes, the Oration is muche commended, and appereth notable when we keepe vs still to that stile whiche we first professed, and vse suche woordes as seme for that kinde of writyng moste conuenient. Yea, if we minde to encrease or diminishe: to be in a heate, or to vse moderation. To speake pleasauntly or grauely: To bee sharpe or soft: to talke lordly, or to speake finely: to ware auncient or familiare (whiche all are comprehended vnder one of the other three:) we muste euer make our woordes apt and agreable to that kinde of stile whiche we firste began to vse. For as Frenche hoodes doe not become Lordes: so Parliament robes are vnfittyng for Ladies. Conuenientie therefore muste euer be vsed, and all thinges obserued, that are moste meete for euery cause, if we looke by attemptes to haue our desire.

Eroynation by colours of Rhetorique. There is an other kinde of Eroynation, that is not egallie sparpled throughout the whole Oration, but is so disseuered and parted as starres stande in the Firmament, or flowers in a garden, or pretie deuised antiques in a clothe of Arras.

¶ *What a figure is.*

A Figure is a certaine kinde, either of Sentence, Oration, or woorde, vsed after some newe or strange wise, muche vnlike to that whiche men commonly vse to speake.

¶ *The deuision of Figures.*

There

THere are thꝛee kindes of figures, the one is, when the nature of woꝛdes is chaunged fꝛom one ſignification to an other, called a *Trope* of the Grecians: The other ſeꝛueth foꝛ woꝛdes when thei are not chaunged by nature, but onely altred by ſpeaking, called of the Greciãs a *Scheme* The third is, when by diuerſitie of inuention, a ſentence is many waies ſpoken, and alſo matters are amplified by heappng examples, by dilatyng argumentes, by comparyng of thynges together, by ſimilitudes, by contraries, and by diuers other like, called by *Tullie* Exoꝛnation of ſentences, oꝛ colours of *Rhetorike*.

By all whiche figures euery Oꝛation maie be muche beautified, and without theſame, not one can attaine to be coumpted an Oꝛatour, though his learnyng otherwiſe be neuer ſo greate.

Of the firſte vſe of Tropes.

WHen learned and wiſemen gan firſt to enlarge their tonge, and ſought with greate vtterance of ſpeeche to commende cauſes: Thei founde full ofte muche want of woꝛdes to ſette out their meanyng. And theꝛefoꝛe remembꝛyng thynges of like nature vnto thoſe whereof thei ſpeake: Thei vſed ſuche woꝛdes to expꝛeſſe their mynde, as were moſte like vnto other. As foꝛ example. If I ſhould ſpeake againſt ſome notable Phariſey. I might vſe tranſlation of woꝛdes in this wiſe: Yonder man is of a crooked iudgement, his wittes are cloudie, he liueth in deepe darkneſſe, duſked altogether with blinde ignoꝛance, and dꝛouned in the ragyng ſea of bottomeleſſe Superſtition. Thus is the ignoꝛante ſette out by callyng hym crooked, cloudie, darcke, blinde, and dꝛounde in Superſtition All whiche woꝛdes are not pꝛoper vnto ignoꝛance, but boꝛowed of other thynges that are of like nature vnto ignoꝛance. Foꝛ the vnſkilfull man hath his witte ſett out of oꝛder, as a mannes bodie is ſet out of ioynte, and theꝛeupon it maie be ſaied to be crooked. Likewiſe he maie be called Cloudie, foꝛ as the Cloudes keepe the Sonne ſhinyng from vs, ſo dooeth his ignoꝛance keepe hym blindfolde from the true vnderſtandyng of thynges. And as when the eyes are out, no man can ſee any thyng: So when peꝛfite iudgement is wantyng, the tꝛothe can not be knowne. And ſo likewiſe of all other. Thus as neceſſitie hath foꝛced vs to boꝛowe woꝛdes

Tropes how thei were firſt founded.

woordes translated: So hath tyme and practize made them to seme moste pleasaunt, and therefore thei are muche the rather vsed. Yea when a thyng full ofte can not bee expreste by an apte and meete woorde, wee doe perceiue (when it is spoken by a woorde translated) that the likenesse of that thyng, whiche appeareth in an other woorde muche lighteneth that, whiche we would moste gladly haue perceiued.

And not onely doe men vse translation of woordes (called *Tropes*) for neede sake, whē thei can not finde other: but also when thei maie haue moste apt woordes at hand, yet wil thei of a purpose vse trāslated woordes. And the reason is this. Some compt it a point of witte, to passe ouer suche woordes as are at hande, and to vse suche as are farre fetcht and translated: or els it is because the hearer is ledde by cogitation vppon rehearsall of a Metaphore, and thinketh more by remembraunce of a woorde translated, then is there expresselie spoken: or els because the whole matter seemeth by a similitude to bee opened: or laste of all, because euery translation is commonly, and for the moste part referred to the senses of the bodie, and especially to the sense of seeyng, whiche is the sharpest and quickest aboue all other. For when I shall saie that an angrie man fometh at the mouthe, I am brought in remembraunce by this translation to remember a Boze, that in fightyng vseth muche fompng, the whiche is a foule and a lothly sight. And I cause other to thinke that he brake pacience wonderfully, when I set out his rage comparable to a Bozes fompng.

An other being offended with checkes giuen will saie, I merualle sir what you meane to bee euer snarryng at me, wherein is declared a brutishnesse, consideryng he speaketh bityng woordes, and muche without reason, and as vncomely as a dog doeth, whē he snarreth the whiche wee see is nothyng seemely. There is nothyng in all the worlde, but thesame maie haue the name of some other woorde, the whiche by some similitude is like vnto it. Notwithstanding, there ought muche warenesse to be vsed in chosing of woordes translated, that thesame be not vnlike that thing whervnto it is applied, nor yet that the translatiō be vncomely, or suche as maie giue occasion of any vncleane meanyng.

¶ *A Trope.*

A

A *Trope* is an alteration of a worde or sentence, from the proper signification to that whiche is not proper. Trope what it is.

¶ *The deuision of Tropes.*

T*Ropes* are either of a woorde, or a long continued speeche or sentence. Diuision of Tropes.

¶ *Tropes of a woorde are these.*

- A Metaphore or translation of woordes.
- A woorde makyng.
- Intellection.
- Abusion.
- Transmutation of a woorde.
- Transumption.
- Chaunge of name.
- Circumlocution.

Tropes of a long continued speeche or sentences, are these.

- An Allegorie, or inuersion of woordes.
- Mountyng.
- Resemblyng of thynges.
- Similitude.
- Example.

¶ *What is a Metaphore.*

A *Metaphore* is an alteration of a woorde, from the proper and naturall meanyng, to that whiche is not proper, and yet agreeth thereunto by some likenesse, that appeareth to be in it. *Metaphora*

An Oration is wonderfully enriched, when apt *Metaphores* are got, and applied to the matter. Neither can any one perswade affectuously, and winne men by waight of his Oration, without the helpe of woordes altered and translated.

¶ *The deuersitie of translations.*

FIrst we alter a worde frō that which is in the mind to that which is in the bodie. As when we perceiue one that hath begiled vs, we vse to say: Ah sirrha, I am glad I haue smelled you out. Beeyng greeued with a matter, we saie cōmonly we cānot digest it. The lawier receiuyng money more then nedeth oftentymes, will saie

saie to his Client without any translation: I feele you well, when the poore man thinketh that he doeth well vnderstande his cause, and will helpe hym to some good ende. For so commonly we saie, when wee knowe a mannes minde in any thyng. This kinde of mutation is muche vsed, when we talke earnestly of any matter.

¶ From the creature without reason, to that whiche hath reason.

THe seconde kinde of translation is, when we go from the creature without reason, to that whiche hath reason, or contrary frō that whiche hath reason, to that whiche hath no reasō. As if I should saie, suche an vnreasonable brauler did nothing els but barke like a dog, or like a Fox. Women are saied to chatter, churles to grunt, boies to whine, & pongmen to yel. Contrariwise we call a Foxe false, a Lion proude, and a dog flattryng.

¶ From the liuyng, to that whiche hath no life.

FRom the liuyng to the not liuyng, we vse many translations. As thus. You shall praie for all mennes, dispersed throughout the face of the yearth. The arme of a Tree. The side of a bancke. The land crieth for vengeance. From the liuyng to the not liuing. Hatred buddeth emong malicious mē, his wordes flow out of his mouth. I haue a whole world of businesse.

In obseruyng the worke of Nature in all seuerall substances wee maie finde translations at will, then the whiche nothyng is more profitable for any one, that myndeth by his vtteraunce to stirre the hartes of men, either one waie or other.

Woordes makyng.

A woorde makyng called of the Grecians *Onomatopeia*, is when we make wordes of our owne mynde, suche as bee derined from the nature of thynges. As to call one Patche or Coulson, whom we see to doe a thing foolishly, because these twoo in their tyme were notable fooles. Or when one is lustie, to saie Tarantauntara, declaryng thereby that he is as lustie, as a Trumpette is delitefull and stirryng: or when one would seme galant, to crie hoigh, whereby also is declared courage. Boies beeyng greeued will saie some one to an other: Sir, I will cappe you, if you vse me thus, and with holde that frō me whiche is myne owne: meanyng that he will take his cap from hym. Againe, when we see one gaie and gallaunt, we vse to saie, he courtes it (q) one that reasoned in

Diuinitie

Diuinitie with his fellowe, I like well to reason, but I can not chappe these textes in Scripture, if I should die for it: meanyng that he could not tell in what Chapiter thynges were conteined, although he knewe full well, that there were suche saiynges.

Intellection.

INtellection, called of the Grecians, *Synedoche*, is a Tropе, whē we gather or iudge the whole by the part, or parte by the whole. As thus: The Kyng is come to London, meaning thereby that other also be come with hym. The Frenche man is good to keepe a forte, or to skirmishe on horsbacke, whereby we declare the Frenche men generally. By the whole, the parte thus. All Cambridge sorowed for the death of *Bucer*, meanyng the moste parte. All Englande reioyseth that Pilgrimage is banished, and Idolatrie for euer abolished: and yet all Englande is not gladde but the moste parte. Intellection

The like phrases are in the Scripture, as when the *Magians* came to *Hierusalem*, and asked where he was that was borne King of the Iewes. *Herode* starte vp being greatly troubled, and all the Citie of *Hierusalem* with hym, and yet all the Citie was not troubled, but the moste parte. By the signe wee vnderstande the thing signified, as by an Iuie garland, we iudge there is wine to sell. By the signe of a Bear, Bull, Lion, or any such, we take any house to be an Inne. By eating breade at the Communion, we remember Christes death, and by faithe receiue hym spiritually.

Abusion.

ABusion, called of the Grecians *Catechresis*, is when for a certaine proper woorde, wee vse that whiche is moste nigh vnto it: As in callyng some water, a fishe pond, though there bee no fishe in it at all: or els when we saie, there is long talke, and small matter. Whiche are spoken vnproperly, for we can not measure, either talke, or matter by length, or breadth. Abusion.

Transmutation of a worde.

TRansmutation helpeth muche for varietie, the whiche is, when a woorde hath a proper signification of the owne, and beyng referred to an other thyng, hath an other meanyng, the Grecians call it *Metonymia*, the which is diuers waies vsed. When wee vse the author of a thyng, for the thyng self. As Transmutation.

thus. Put vpon you the Lorde Jesus Christe, that is to saie, be in liuyng suche a one as he was. The Pope is banished Englande, that is to saie, all his Superstition and Hypocrisie, either is or should be gone to the deuill, by the Kynges expresse will and commaundement. Againe, when that which doth conteine, is vsed for that whiche is conteined. As thus. I haue dronke an Hoggeshead this weeke: Heauen maie reioyce, and Hell maie lamente, when olde men are not couetous. Contrarywise, when the thyng conteined, is vsed for the thyng contemnyng. As thus. I praie you come to me, that is to saie, come to my house. Fowerthly, when by the efficient cause, the effecte is streight gathered thereupon. As thus. The Sunne is vp, that is to saie, it is daie. This felowe is good with a long bowe, that is to saie, he shooteth well.

ij.

iij.

iiij.

Transumption.

TRansumption is, when by degrees wee goe to that, whiche is to bee shewed. As thus: Suche a one lieth in a darke doungeon, now in speakyng of darkenesse, we vnderstande closenesse, by closenesse, we gather blackenesse, and by blackenesse, we iudge deepenesse.

Chaunge of name.

Antonomasia.

CHaunge of name, is when for the proper name, some name of an Office, or other callyng is vsed. As thus: the Prophete of God saieth: Blessed are they, whose sinnes be not imputed vnto them, meanyng Dauid. The Poete saieth: It is a vertue to eschue vice, whereon I vnderstande *Horace*.

Circumlocution.

Periphrasis.

CIrcumlocution is a large discription, either to sette forthe a thyng more gorgeously, or els to hide it, if the eares can not beare the open speakyng: or when with fewe woordes, we can not open our meanyng to speake it more largely. Of the firste thus. The valiaunt courage of mightie *Scipio*, subdued the force of *Carthage* and *Numantia*. Henry the fiueth, the mooste puissaunt Kyng of England, with seuen thousande men, tooke the French King prisoner with all the flower of nobilitie in Fraunce. Of the seconde. When *Saule* was ealing himselfe vpon the grounde, Dauid tooke a peece of his garment, tooke his weapon that laie by hym, and might haue slaine hym. Suche a one defiled his bo-

die

dis with sutche an euill woman. For the thirde parte, the large commentaries written, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus Englished: are sufficient to shewe the vse thereof.

What is an Allegorie.

AN Allegory is none other thyng, but a Metaphore, vsed throughout a whole sentence, or Oration. As in speakyng against a wicked offendour, I might saie thus. Oh Lorde, his nature was so euill, and his wit so wickedly bent, that he meant to bouge the ship, where he hymself sailed, meanyng that he purposed the destruction of his owne countrey. It is euill puttyng strong Wine into weake vesselles, that is to saie, it is euil trusting some women with weightie matters. The English Prouerbes gathered by Jhon Heiwode, help well in this behaulfe, the whiche commonly are nothyng els but Allegories, and darke deuised sentences. Nowe for the other fower figures, because I minde hereafter to speake more largely of them, and *Quintilian* thinketh them more meete to bee placed emong the figures of Eroynation, I will not trouble the reader with double inculcation, and twise tellyng of one tale.

¶ Of Schemes, called otherwise sentences of a worde and sentence.

I Might tary long time, in declaryng the nature of diuers Schemes, whiche are woordes or sentences altered, either by speakyng, or writyng, contrary to the vulgare custome of our speache, without chaungyng their nature at all: but because I knowe the vse of the figures in woorde, is not so greate in this our tongue, I will run theim ouer, with as muche haste as I can. Scheme what it is.

The deuision of Schemes.

STraunge vsyng of any woorde or sentence, contrary to our daiely wont, is either when we adde or take awaie a sillable, or a woorde, or encrease a sentence by chaunge of speache, contrary to the common maner of speakyng.

Figures of a worde.

THose bee called figures of a woorde, when wee chaunge a woorde, and speake it contrary to our vulgare, and daiely speache. Of the whiche sorte, there are sixe in number.

i. Addition at the first.
ii. Abstraction from the first.
iii. Interlacing in the middest.
iiii. Cuttyng from the middest.
v. Addyng at the ende.
vi. Cuttyng from the ende.

Prosthesis,

OF Addition. As thus: He did all to berattle hym. Wherein appeareth that a sillable is added to this woorde (rattle.) Here is good nale to sell, for good ale.

Aphæresis.

Of Abstraction from the first, thus. As I romed all alone, I gan to thinke of matters greate. In whiche sentence (gan) is vsed, for began.

Epenthesis.

Interlacyng in the middest. As Religion, for Religion.

Syncope.

Cuttyng from the middest. Idolatrie, for Idololatrie.

Proparalepsis.

Adding at the end. Hasten your businesse, for, Hast your businesse.

Apocope.

Cuttyng from the ende. A faire maie, for maide.

Thus these figures are shortlie sette out, and as for the other Schemes, whiche are vttered in whole sentences, and expressed by varietie of speeche: I will set them forthe at large emong the colours and ornamentes of Elocution, that followe.

¶ Of colours and ornamentes, to commende and sette forthe an Oration.

Colours of Rhetorique.

NOW, when wee are able to frame a sentence handesomely together, obseruing nomber, and keping composition, suche as shall like beste the eare, and doe knowe the vse of Tropes, and can applie them to our purpose: then the ornamentes are necessary in an Oration, and sentẽces would be furnished with moste beautifull figures. Therfore, to the ende that they maie bee knowen, suche as moste commende and adourne an Oration: I will sette them forthe here in suche wise, as I shall beste bee able, followyng the order whiche *Tullie* hath vsed in his booke, made of a perfecte Orator.

¶ Resting vpon a poincte.

Cõmoratio.

WHen we are earnest in a matter, & feele the weight of our cause, we rest vpõ some reason, which seruethbest for our purpose. Wherein this figure appereth moste, and helpeth muth to set forth our matter. For it we still kepe vs to our strõgest hold,

and

and make ofter recouse thether, though we be driuen throughe by talke to goe from it now and then: we shall force them at length, either to auoide our strong defence, or els to yeeld into our hands.

¶ *An euident, or plaine setting forthe of a thing, as though it were presently doen.*

THis figure is called a discription, or an euident declaratiō of a thing, as though we sawe it euen now doen. An example: If our enemies shall inuade, and by treason win the victorie, wee all shall dye euery mothers sonne of vs, and our Citie shalbe destroyed sticke and stone. I see our children made slaues, our daughters rauished, our wiues caried awaie, the father forced to kil his owne sonne, the mother her daughter, the soonne his father, the suckyng childe slaine in the mothers bosome, one stappyng to the knees in an others blood, Churches spoiled, houses pluckte downe, and all set in fire rounde about vs, euery one cursing the daie of their birth, childre crieng, women wailing, and olde men passing for very thought, and euery one thinking himself moste happie that is rid out of this world, suche will the crueltie be of our enemies, and with suche horrible hatred will thei seke to dispatche vs. Thus, where I might haue saied we shall al be destroied, and saie no more, I haue by discription set the euill forthe at large. It muche auaileth to vse this figure in diuers matters, the whiche whosoeuer can doe, with any excellent gift, vndoubtedly he shall much delite the hearers. The circumstaunces well considered in euery cause, giue muche matter for the plain opening of the thyng. Also similitudes, examples, comparisons, from one thing to an other, apte translations, and heapyng of allegories, and all suche figures as serue for amplifiyng, doe much commende the liuely settyng forth of any matter. The miseries of the courtiers life, might wel be described by this kinde of figure. The commoditie of learning, the pleasure of plowmen, and the care that a Kyng hath. And not onely are matters set out by discription, but men are painted out in their colours, yea, buildynges are set forth, Kingdomes and Realmes are portred, places and times are described. The Englishman for feeding and chaungyng for apparell: The Dutchemen for drinkyng: The Frenchman for pride and inconstance: The Spaniard for nimblenes

Illestris explanatio.

Description of outrage, after a battaile.

Diuersitie of natures.

nes of body, and much disdain: the Italian for greate wit and policie: The Scottes for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubbornesse.

Many people are described by their degree, as a man of good yeres, is counted sober, wise, and circumspecte: a yong manne wilde and carelesse: a woman bablyng, inconstaunt, and readie to beleue all that is tolde her.

By vocation of life, a Souldiour is counted a greate bragger, and a haunter of hymselfe: a Scholer simple: a Russet coate, sadde, and sometymes craftie: a Courtier, flatterying: a Citezein gentle.

Description of persones.

In describyng of persones, there ought alwaies a comelinesse to be vsed, so that nothyng be spoken, whiche maie bee thought is not in them. As if one shall describe Henry the sixth, he might call hym gentle, milde of nature, led by perswasion, and readie to forgiue, careles for wealthe, suspectyng none, mercifull to all, fearfull in aduersitie, and without forecast to espie his misfortune. Againe, for Richarde the thirde, I might bryng hym in, cruell of harte, ambitious by nature, enuious of minde, a deepe dissembler, a close man for weightie matters, hardie to reuenge, and fearfull to lose his high estate, trustie to none, liberall for a purpose, castyng still the worste, and hopyng euer the beste. By this figure also we imagine a talke, for some one to speake, and accordyng to his persone, we frame the Oration. As if one should bryng in noble Henry the eight, of moste famous memorie to enueigh against Rebelles, thus he might order his Oration. What if Henry the eight were a liue, and sawe suche rebellion in this Realme, would not he saie thus, & thus? Yea, me thinkes I heare him speak euen now. And so fet forth such wordes, as we would haue him to saie.

Sometymes it is good to make GOD, the Countrey, or some one Toume to speake, and looke what wee would saie in our owne persone, to frame the whole tale to them. Suche varietie doeth muche good to auoide tedious nesse, for he that speaketh all in one sorte, though he speake thynges neuer so wittely, shall sone wearie his hearers. Figures therefore were inuented, to auoide satietie, and cause delice: to refreshe with pleasure, and quicken with grace the dulnesse of mans braine. Who will looke of a white wall an houre together, where no woorkemanship is at all? Or

The vse of figures.

who

who will eate still one kinde of meate, and neuer desire chaunge: Certes as the mouthe is daintie: so the witte is tickle, and will sone lothe an vnsaucry thing.

A stop, or haulfe tellyng of a tale.

A Stop is when we breake of our tale, before we haue tolde it. As thus. Thou that art a yong manne of suche towardnesse, hauyng suche frendes, to plaie me suche a parte, well I will saie no more, God amēd all that is amisse. Or thus. Doth it become thee to be, shall I tel al: Naie, I wil not for very shame. *Precisio.*

A close vnderstandyng.

A Close vnderstandyng is, when more maie be gathered, then is openly expressed. A naughtie fellowe that vsed muche robberie, founde hymselfe greued, that the greate Oratour *Demosthenes* spent so muche Oyle, whereby he watched from tyme to tyme, incompassyng matters for the common weale: In deede (q*uod*) *Demosthenes*) darke nightes are best for thy purpose, meanyng that he was a greate robber in the night. *Significatio plus ad intelligendum quā dixeris.* Demosthenes.

One also beyng set in a heate, because an other had contraried him for the choise of meates, was much more greued whē he gaue him this taunt. You maie boldly (q*uod* he) speake for fishe eating, for my maister your father, hath many a tyme and oft, wipte his nose vpon his sleeue: meanyng that his father was a Fishemonger.

Shorte sentences.

WHen short clauses or sentences are vsed, whiche we speake at a worde parte of our myndе, and nexte after speake as briefly againe, dyyng to make almoste euery woorde a perfecte sentence. As thus. The man is sore wounded, I feare me he will die. The Philistians mistrust hym: the partie is slen, none persueth: God sende vs good lucke. *Distincte concisa breuitas.*

Abasyng, or lessenyng of a thyng.

WE make our doynges appeare lesse, when with woordes we extenuate and lessen the same. As whē one had giuen his fellowe a soundе blowe, beyng rebuked for the same, saied he scant touched hym. Likewise, when two haue fought together, to saie, that the one had his leg pricke with a sworde, when perchaunce he had a greate woounde. *Extenuatio.*

Wittie iesting.

Illusio.

MAny pleasaunt Gentlemen, are well practised in merie conceited iestes, and haue bothe suche grace and delite therein, that they are wonderfull to beholde, and better were it to be sharply chid of diuers other, then pleasaunly taunted by any of them. When a Gentleman of greate landes and small wit, had talked largely at a supper, and spake wordes scant worth the hearyng, an other beyng much greued with his folly, saied to him: sir, I haue taken you for a plain meanyng gentleman, but I knowe now, there is not a more deceiptfull bodie in all Englande: with that, other being greued with the yong Gentlemans folly, boldly began to excuse hym for deceipt, and therefore saied he was to blame to charge hym with that faulte, consideryng his nature was simple, and fewe can saie that euer he was craftie. Well (q the other) I must nedes saie he is deceiptfull, for I take him heretofore for a sober wittie young man, but nowe I perceiue he is a foolishe babling felowe, and therefore I am sure he hath deceiued me, like a false craftie childe as he is: with that thei al laughed, and the gentlemā was much abashed. But as touching sharpe taūts, I haue largely declared thē in place, where I treated of laughter.

¶ *Digression, or swarueng from the matter.*

Digressio abre non longa.

WE swarue sometymes from the matter, vpon iuste considerations, makyng the same to serue for our purpose, as well as if we had kept the matter still. As in makyng an inuective against Rebelles, and largely settyng out the filthe of their offence, I might declare by the waie of digression, what a noble countrey Englande is, howe greate commodities it hath, what traffique here is vsed, and how muche more nede other Realmes haue of vs, then we haue nede of them. Or when I shall giue euidence, or rather declame against an hainous murtherer, I maie digresse from the offence doen, and enter in praise of the deade man, declaryng his vertues in moste ample wise, that the offence doen maie bee thought so muche the greater, the more honeste he was, that hath thus ben slaine. Notwithstandyng, this would be learned, that (when we make any suche digression) the same maie well agree to the purpose, and be so set out that it confounde not the cause, or darken the sence of the matter vttered.

Prepo-

Propoſition.

PRopoſition is a ſhorte rehearſall of that, whereof we mynde to ſpeake. I will tell you (q̄ one) there is none hath a worſe name then thy felowe, none hath been ſo often in trouble, he maie be faultleſſe, but I can hardly beleue it, ther are enowe that will teſtifie of his naughtineſſe, and auouche his euill demeanour to be ſuche that the like hath not been harde heretofore. *Propoſitio quid ſit dicturus.*

¶ *An ouer paſſage to an other matter.*

WHen we goe from one matter to an other, we vſe this kynde of Phraſe. I haue tolde you the cauſe of all this euill, now I will tell you a remedie for the ſame. You haue heard of iuſtification by faith onely, now you ſhall here of the dignitie of woorkes, and how neceſſary thei are for euery Chriſtian bodie. *Secundũ ab eo quod dictum eſt.*

¶ *Of commyng againe to the matter.*

WHen we haue made a digreſſion, wee maie declare our returne, and ſhewe that wheras we haue roued a litle, wee will now keepe vs within our boundes. In this kinde of digreſſion, it is wiſedome not to wander ouer farre, for feare we ſhall werie the hearers, before wee come to the matter againe. I knewe a Preacher that was a whole houre out of his matter, and at length remembryng hymſelf, ſaied, well, now to the purpoſe, as though all that whiche he had ſpoken before, had been little to the purpoſe, whereat many laughed, and ſome for ſtarke wearineſſe were faine to goe awaie. *Reditus ad propoſitum.*

¶ *Iteratyng and repeatyng thinges ſaied before.*

WHen a man hath largely ſpoken his minde, he maie repeate in fewe woordes the ſomme of his ſayng. As if one ſhould be charged with felonie, that is a manne of wealth and honeſtie, he might thus gather his mynde together after a long tale tolde. Firſte, I will proue there is no cauſe that I ſhould ſteale, again, that I could not poſſible at ſuche a tyme ſteale, and laſt, that I ſtole not at all. *Iteratio.*

¶ *The concluſion or Lappyng vp of matter.*

THe concluſion, is an apt knittyng together of that, which we haue ſaied before. As thus. If reaſon can perſwade, if examples maie moue, if neceſſitie maie helpe, if pitie may *Rationis apta concluſio.*

prouoke, if daungers forseen maie stirre vs to bee wise: I doubt not but you will rather vse sharpe lawes to represse offendours, then with dissolute negligence suffer all to perishe.

Mountyng aboue the truthe.

Veritatis superlatio, atq; traiectio

MOuntyng aboue the truthe, is when wee doe sette forthe thinges exceedyngly and aboue all mennes expectation, meanyng onely that they are very greate. As thus, God promised to Abraham, that he would make his posteritie eguall with the sandes of the pearth. Now it was not so saied, that there should be so many in deede, but that the nomber should be infinite. For whether we shall understande those to bee the children of Abraham, that came of his stocke in flesshe, or els take them for the children of Abraham, that haue the faithe of Abraham: we shall neuer proue the nomber of men to bee eguall with the sandes of Sea, though we could recken all that haue been, from the beginnyng of the worlde. Therefore in this speache, wee muste understande there is a mountyng, called of the Grecians *hyperbole*, we vse this figure muche in Englishe. As thus. He is as swift as a swallowe, he hath a belly as biggue as a Barrell, he is a Giaunt in makyng. The whole Themes is little enough to serue hym, for washing his handes. In all whiche speaches we mounte euermore a greate deale, and not meane so as the wordes are spoken.

Asking other, and answeryng our self.

Rogatio.

BY askyng other, and answering to the question our self, we muche commende the matter, and make it appere very pleasaunt. If I would rebuke one that hath committed a robberie, I might saie thus. I wounder what you ment to commit suche felonie. Haue you not landes? I knowe you haue. Are not your freendes worshipfull? Yes assuredly. Were you not beloued of them? No doubt you were. Could you haue wanted any thing that they had? If you would haue eaten golde, you might haue had it. Did not they alwaies bid you seeke to them, and to none other? I knowe they did. What euill happe had you then to offende in suche sorte, not goyng to your frendes, whiche would not see you want, but sekyng for that whiche you should not haue, endaungerying your self by vntrue dealyng, to feele the power and strength of a lawe, when

when otherwise you might haue liued in sauegarde?

The like kinde of writyng is also vsed, when we make an other bodie to speake, and yet not aske them any question at al. As when D. Haddon had comforted the Duches of Suffolkes grace for her children, and had said they were happely gone, because thei might haue fallen hereafter, and lost that worthie name, whiche at their death they had: at last he bringeth in the mother, speaking motherlike in her childrens behaulfe of this sorte, and aunswereth still to her saiynges. But all these euilles whereof you speake (q he) had not chaunced: Yet suche thinges doe chaunce. Yet not alwaies: Yet full ofte. Yet not to all: Yet to a great many. Yet they had not chaunced to nyne: Yet we knowe not. Yet I might haue hoped: Yet better it had been to haue feared.

Snappishe asking.

Percontatio

WE doe aske oftentymes, because we would knowe: wee doe aske also because we would chide, and sette forth our grief with more vehemencie, the one is called *Interrogatio*, the other is called *Percontatio*. *Tullie* enueighyng against *Catiline* that Romaine Rebell, beginneth his Oration chidyngly, questionyng with *Catiline* of this sorte. How long (*Catiline*) wilt thou abuse our sufferaunce? How long will this rage and madnesse of thine goe aboute to deceiue vs?

Dissembling or close iesting.

Dissimulatio alia dicēdi ac significantis.

When we iest closely, & with dissemblyng meanes grig our felowe, when in wordes we speake one thing, and meane in hart an other thing, declaryng either by our countenaunce, or by vtteraunce, or by some other waie, what our whole meanyng is. As when we see one boastyng himself, and vaine glorious, to holde him vp with ye and naie, and euer to ad more to that whiche he saieth. As I knowe one that saied himself to be in his owne iudgement, one of the beste in all Englande, for tryng of mettalles, and that the counsaile hath often called for his helpe, and can not want him for nothyng. In deede (q another) England had a sore losse, if God should call you. Thei are al Bungelers in cōparison of you, and I think the best of thē maie thank you for al that he hath: but yet sir your cunning was such that you brought a shillyng to nine pence, nay to sixe pence, and agreate to

two

two pence, and so gaue hym a frumpe euen to his face, because he sawe him so foolish. A glorious gentlemā that had two seruaūts, and belike would be knowen not onely to haue them, but also to haue moe, saied in the presence of a worshipfull man, I maruaile much where all my seruaunts are: Marie sir (& one) that thought to hitte him home: thei wer here all two euen now. Thus he closly mocke him, and worthely. For, the nomber is not great, that standeth vpon two, and (all) is to muche, when we speake of so fewe.

Doubtfulnesse.

Dubitatio. DOubtfulnesse is then vsed, when we make the hearers beleue ỳ the weight of our matter causeth vs to doubt what were beste to speake. As when a Kyng findeth his people vnfaithfull, he maie speake in this wise. Before I begin, I doubt what to name ye. Shall I cal you subiects? You deserue it not. My freendes ye are not. To call you enemies were ouer litle, because your offence is so greate. Rebelles you are, and yet that name doth not fully vtter your folly. Traitors I may call you, and yet you are worse then traitors, for you seke his death who hath giuen you life. The offence is so greate, that no man can comprehend it. Therfore I doubt what to cal you, except I should call you by the name of them al. An other. Whether shall I speake or holde my peace? If I speake, you will not heare, if I holde my peace, my conscience condempned my silence.

Distribution.

Distributio. DIstribution, is when we apply to euery body, suche thinges as are due vnto them, declarying what euery one is in his vocation. It is the duetie of a Kyng, to haue an especiall care ouer his whole Realme. It is the office of his nobles, to cause the Kynges will to be fulfilled, and with all diligence to further his Lawes, and to see iustice doen euery where.

It is the parte of a subiecte, faithfully to doe his Princes commaundement, and with a willyng harte to serue hym at all neides.

It is the office of a Bishop to set forth Gods worde, and with all diligence to exhorte men to all Godlinesse. It is an housbandes duetie to loue his wife, & with gentle meanes to rule her. It is the wifes office humbly to submit her self to her husbands will. Seruaunte

uauntes should be faithfull to their maisters, not onely for feare of a lawe, but also for conscience sake. Maisters should vse their seruants accordingly, payeng them that which is due vnto them. A father should bryng vp his children in the feare of God. Children should reuerence their fathers with all submission. It is also called a distributiō, when we deuide the whole into seuerall parts, and saie we haue fower poinctes, whereof we purpose to speake, comprehendyng our whole talke within compasse of the same.

Correction.

Correctio.

COrrection, is when we alter a worde or sentence, otherwise then we haue spoken before, purposyng thereby to augmente the matter, and to make it appere more vehement. *Tullie* against *Verres*, geueth a good example. We haue brought before you my Lords, into this place of iudgement, not a theefe, but an extortioner and violent robber, not an aduouterer, but a rauisher of maides, not a stealer of Churche goodes, but an errant traitour, bothe to God and all Godlinesse: not a common ruffin, but a moste cruell cut throte, suche as if a man should rake hell for one, he could not finde the like. Againe, if one would enueigh against backbiters after this sorte. Thou haste not robbed hym of his money, but thou hast taken awaie his good name, whiche passeth all worldly goods, neither haste thou slaundred thine enemie, but thine owne brother and frende that meant thee well, and hath doen thee pleasures: naie thou haste not slaundred hym, but thou haste slaine hym. For a man is halfe hanged, that hath lost his good name. Neither haste thou killed hym with the sword, but poisoned hym with thy tongue, so that I maie call it rather an enchauntyng, then a murther. Neither haste thou killed one man alone, but so many as thou haste brought out of charitie, with thy moste venemous backbityng. Yea, and laste of all thou hast not slaine a man, but thou hast slaine Christ in his members, so muche as laie in thee to doe. But of this figure I haue spoken heretofore, where I wrote of amplification.

Tullie against Verres.

Reiection.

Reiectio.

REiection is then vsed, when wee laie suche faultes from vs, as our enemies would charge vs with all, saiyng it is folly to thinke any suche thyng, muche more to speake it:

it: or els to saie, suche a mannes worde is no slaunder, or it nedeth not to talke of suche topes. Or thus. Who would thinke that I would doe suche a deede? Or is it like that I would doe suche a deede: *Antony* charged *Tullie*, that he was the occasion of ciuill battaile. Naie (quod *Tullie*) it is thou, it is thou man and none other that settes *Cæsar* on worke, to seke the slaughter of his countrey.

A Buttresse.

Premunitio.

A Buttresse is a sense made for that, whiche we purpose to holde vp, or goe about to compasse. As thus. I hope my Lordes, both to perswade this man by reason, and to haue your iudgement in this matter. For whereas it is a sore thing to be iustly accused for breakyng frendship, then assuredly if one bee wrongfully slaundered, a man had nede to looke about hym.

¶ A familiar talke, or communication vsed.

Communicatio.

COmmunication is then vsed, when we debate with other, and aske questions as though we looked for an answere, and so goe through with our matter, leauyng the iudgement thereof to their discretion. As thus: What thynke you in this matter? Is there any other better meanes to dispatche the thyng? What would you haue doen, if you were in the same case? Here I appeale to your owne conscience, whether you would sufer this unpunished, if a man should doe you the like displeasure.

¶ Description of a mannes nature or maners.

Descriptio.

WE describe the maners of men, when we set them forthe in their kinde what they are. As in speakyng against a couetous man, thus. There is no suche pinche penye on liue as this good fellowe is. He will not lose the parynge of his nailes. His haire is neuer rounded for sparing of money, one paire of shoen serueth hym a twelue moneth, he is shod with nailes like a Horse. He hath been knowen by his coate this thirtie winter. He spent once a groate at good ale, beyng forced through companie, and taken shorte at his worde, where vpon he hath taken suche conceipte sins that tyme, that it hath almoste cost hym his life. *Tullie* describeth *Piso* for his naughtines of life, wonderfully to heare, yea, worse then haue set forthe this couetous man. Reade the Oration against *Piso*, suche as be learned.

Error.

Error

ERror is, when wee thinke muche otherwise then the truthe is. As when we haue conceiued a good opinion of some one man, and are often deceiued, to saie, who would haue thought, that he euer would haue doen so. Now of all men vpon yearth, I would haue least suspected him. But suche is the worlde. Or thus. You thinke such a man a worthie personage, and of muche honestie, but I will proue that he is much otherwise: a man would not thinke it, but if I doe not proue it, I will giue you my hedde. *Errors induction.*

Mirthe making.

I haue heretofore largely declared, the waies of mirth making, and therefore I little neede to renue them here in this place. *Inhilaritatem impulso.*

Amplification or Preuention.

ANticipation is, when we preuent those wordes, that an other would saie, and disproue them as vntrue, or at least wise aunswere vnto them. A Godly Preacher enueighed earnestly against those, that would not haue the Bible to be in English, and after earnest probation of his cause, saied thus, but me thynkes I heare one saie. Sir, you make muche a doe, about a little matter, what were we the worse if we had no Scripture at all? To whom he aunswered: the Scripture is left vnto vs by Gods owne will, that the rather we might knowe his commaundementes, and liue thereafter al the daies of our life. Somtymes this figure is vsed, when we saie, we will not speake this or that, and yet doe not withstandyng. As thus. Suche a one is an Officer, I wil not saie a hyber. Right is hindered thaugh might, I will not saie ouerwhelmed. Thus in saiyng we wil not speake, we speake our mynde after a sorte not withstandyng. *Ante occupatio.*

A Similitude.

A Similitude is a likenesse when twoo thinges, or moe then twoo, are so compared and resembled together, that they bothe in some one propertie seme like. Oftentymes brute beastes, and thinges that haue no life, minister greate matter in this behalfe. Therfore those that delite to proue thinges by similitudes, must learne to knowe the nature of diuerse beastes, of metalles, of stones, and all suche as haue any vertue in them, and be applied to mannes life. Sometymes in a worde *Similitudo.*

worde appereth a similitude, whiche beyng dilated helpeth well for amplification. As thus. You striue against the streme, better bowe then breake. It is euill runnyng against a stone wall. A man maie loue his houle well, and yet not ride vpon the ridge. By alwhich, any one maie gather a similitude, and enlarge it at pleasure. The prouerbes of Heywode helpe wonderfull well for this purpose. In comparyng a thyng from the lesse to the greater. Similitudes helpe well to set out the matter. That if we purpose to dilate our cause hereby with poses and sentences, we maie with ease talke at large. This shall serue for an example. The more precious a thyng is, the more diligently should it bee kepte, and better heede taken to it. Therefore tyme (considerynge, nothyng is more precious) should warely bee vsed, and good care taken, that no tyme be lost, without some profite gotten. For if they are to be punished that spende their money, and waiste their landes, what folly is it, not to thynke them worthie muche more blame, that spende their tyme (whiche is the chiefest treasure that God geueth) either idely, or els vngodly? For what other thyng doeth man lose, when he loseth his tyme, but his life? And what can bee more deare to manne then his life? If we lose a little money, or a ryng of golde with a stone in it, we counpt that greate losse. And I praie you, when we lose a whole daie, whiche is a good portion of a mans life, shall we not compt that a losse, considering though our money be gone, we maie recouer the same againe, but tyme lost can neuer bee called backe againe. Againe, when we lose our money, some bodie getteth good by it, but the losse of tyme turneth to no mannes auaile. There is no man that loseth in any other thyng, but some bodie gaineth by it sauyng onely in the losse of tyme. Yea, it hath saued the life of some to lose all that they had. For riches be the occasion sometymes of muche mischiefe in this life, so that it were better sometymes wastefully to spende, then warely to keepe: by the losse of tyme, no man hath profited hym selfe any thyng at all. Besides this, the better and more precious a thyng is, the more shame to spende it fondly. Though men kepe their goodes neuer so close, and locke them vp neuer so faste, yet often tymes, either by some mischaunce of fire, or other thyng, they are lost, or els desperate Dickes borowes now and then a-

Similitude enlarged.

gainst

gainſt the owners will all that euer he hath. And now though the owner be vndooen, yet is he not therefore diſhoneſt, conſidering honeſtie ſtandeth not in wealth, nor heapes of money: but the loſſe of tyme, ſeeyng it happeneth through our owne folie, not onely dooeth it make vs wretches, but alſo cauſeth men to thinke that wee are paſte all grace. A wonderfull kinde of infamie, when the whole blame ſhall reſt vpon none other mannes necke, but vpon his onely that ſuffereth all the harme. With money a man maie buye lande, but none can get honeſtie of that price: and yet with well vſyng of tyme, a man not onely might get hym muche worſhipp, but alſo might purchaſe hymſelf a name for euer. Yea, in a ſmall tyme a man might get greate fame, and liue in muche eſtimation. By loſyng of money we loſe little els: but loſyng of time we loſe all the goodneſſe & giftes of God, whiche by labor might bee had. Thus ſimilitudes might bee enlarged by heapyng good ſentences, when one thyng is compared with an other, and concluſion made therevpon. Emong the learned men of the churche, no one vſeth this figure more then *Chriſoſtome*, whoſe writynges the rather ſeme more pleaſaunt and ſweete. For ſimilitudes are not onely vſed to amplifie a matter, but alſo to beautifie the ſame to delite the hearers, to make the matter plain, and to ſhew a certain maieſtie with the report of ſuche reſembled thinges, but becauſe I haue ſpoken of ſimilitudes heretofore in the booke of *Logique*, I will ſurceſſe to talke any further of this matter.

Example.

HE that mindeth to perſwade, muſt needes bee well ſtored with examples. And therefore muche are thei to bee commended, whiche ſearche Chronicles of all ages, and compare the ſtate of our Elders with this preſent tyme. The hiſtorie of Gods booke to the Chriſtian is infallible, and therefore the rehearſall of ſuche good thinges as are therein conteined, mouue the faithfull to all vprighte doyng, and amendement of their life. The *Ethnicke* aucthours ſtirre the hearers, beeyng well applied to the purpoſe. For whē it ſhalbe reported that thei which had no knowledge of God, liued in a brotherly loue one towardes an other, deteſted aduoutrie, baniſhed periuries, hanged the vnthankfull, kept the idle without meate till thei laboured for their liuyng: ſuffered *Exemplum.*

none extortion, exempted bribes from bearyng rule in the Commonweale, the Christians muſt needes bee aſhamed of their euill behauiour, and ſtudy muche to paſſe thoſe whiche are in callyng muche vnder them, and not ſuffer that the ignorant and Pagans life, ſhall counteruaile the taught children of God, and paſſe the Chriſtians ſo muche in good liuyng, as the chriſtians paſſe them in good learnyng. Unegall examples commende muche the matter. I call them vnegall when the weaker is brought in againſte the ſtronger, as if children be faithfull, muche more ought men to be faithfull. If women be chaſte and vndefiled: men ſhould muche more be cleane and without fault. If an vnlearned man will do no wrong, a learned man & a preacher, muſt muche more be vpright and liue without blame. If an houſholder will deale iuſtly with his ſeruantes: a kyng muſt muche the rather deale iuſtly with his ſubiectes. Exāples gathered out of hiſtories, and vſed in this ſort, helpe muche towardes perſwaſion. Yea, brute beaſtes minſter greate occaſion of right good matter, conſideryng many of them haue ſhewed vnto vs, the paterns and Images of diuers vertues.

Doues. Doues ſeyng an hauke gather all together, teachyng vs none other thing, but in aduerſitie to ſticke one to another. Craines in the night haue their watche, warnyng vs neuer to be carelеſſe, for if their watche faile them, thei all neuer leaue till thei haue killed that one Craine, teaching vs that no traitours are worthy to liue vpon yearth. The watche for his ſafegarde, and becauſe he would not ſlepe, holdeth a ſtone in his foote, the which falleth from him: when he beginneth to waxe heauie, and ſo kepeth himſelf ſtill wakyng. Whereby wee maie learne that all men in their vocation, ſhould be right ware and watchfull. The Hen clocketh her Chickens, feedeth theim, and keepeth theim from the Kite. Women muſte clocke their children, bryng them vp well, and keepe them from euill happ. Now I might in ſpeakyng of ſome odious vice, largely ſette out ſome example belongyng to theſame, and compare it with other by heapyng of Chronicles, and matchyng of thynges together. The vnthankfull in this age (whereof there is no ſmall nomber) can not haue enough ſaied againſte them. And therefore I am minded to ſaie ſomewhat againſt thē, to the vtter abhorryng of all ſuche vnkinde dealyng. For he that is vnthankfull,

Craines.

Vnthākfulneſſe, how euill it is.

full, for hartie loue sheweth cankarde hatered: wanteth all other vertues that are required to be in man. The cheef perfection and the absolute fulfillyng of the lawe, stãdeth in the loue whiche man oweth first to God, and next to his neighbour. Let a manne haue faithe, that he maie be able to translate Mountaines (as S. Peter saieth:) yea let hym haue neuer so good qualities, or bee he neuer so politique a man for the safegard of his countrie, bee he neuer so wise, so ware, and so watchfull: yet if he want loue he is nothyng els but as a soundyng Brasse, or a tincklyng Cimball. Now he that is churlishe and vnthankfull, muste needes wante loue, and therefore wanteth he all other goodnesse. The *Persians* therefore seeyng the greatenesse of this offence, and that where it rested, all vices for euer were banished: Prouided by a Lawe that suche should suffer death as felons, whiche were found faultie with vnthankfulnesse. And yet I can not se but thei deserue rather an exquisite kinde of death (suche as fewe haue seen, or fewe haue felt) then to suffer like death with other, that haue not like offended with them. But now because this offence is an euill moste odious and the principall occasion of all other mischeef: I will sett forthe three notable examples, the one of a Dragon, the second of a dog, and the third of a Lion (whiche all three in thankfulnesse, if that be true whiche is reported of theim, wonderfully exceaded) and the rather I seeke to set them out, that the wicked hereby maie well knowe, what thei them selues are, when brute beastes shall sette them all to schoole.

Unthankfulnesse punished by the Persians with death.

There was a manne (as *Plinie* writeth) whiche fostered vp a yonge Dragon, who seeyng thesame beaste to waxe wonderfull greate, feared to keepe his Dragon any longer within his house, and therefore he putte hym out into a wilde forest. It happeneth afterward, that thesame manne trauaillyng on his iourney through the Foreste, was besette with Theeues. And now beeyng in this distresse, and lookyng for none other ende but death, made (as lothe to departe) a greate shoute and outcrie: straight vppon whose noyse, and at the knowledge of his voice, the Dragon came to hym in all the haste possible. Whereupon the Theeues beeyng greatly afraied, ranne cleane awaie to saue them selues harmelesse. Thus through the thankfulnesse of a Dragon,

Thankfulnesse of a Dragon.

this mannes life was saued.

Thankfulnesse of a dog

The Dog of the Romaine *Fulnius* is more wonderfull. This *Fulnius* trauailyng by the waie was slaine with slaues, that laye in waite for hym. His Dog seyng his maister dedde, laye by hym for the space of twoo daies Whereupon when the man was missyng, and searche made for hym: Thei founde hym dedde with his Dog lyng by hym. Some marueilyng to see the Dog lye there by his dedde maister, stroke hym and would haue driuen hym frō the dead corse, and could not: some seyng suche kindesse in the dog, and pitiyng hym that he should lye there without meate twoo or three daies before: cast hym a peece of flesshe, whereupon the dog straite caried the meate to his maisters mouthe, and would not eate any whit hymself, though he had forborne meate so long before. And laste of all when the dedde bodie should be caste into the Riuer (accordyng to the maner of the Romaines) the Dog lept in after, and holdyng vp his maister so long as he could, did chuse rather to dye with hym, then to liue without hym.

Thankfulnesse of a Lion.

The Lion (whereof *Appian* the Grammarian doeth speake) is also strange for his kindnesse, and almoste incredible. A seruāt that had run awaie from his maister, and hid hymself for feare in a caue within a greate wood, tooke a thorne out of a Lions foote, whiche then came to hym for succour as he laie there. Now when he had dooen, the Lion to requite his good tourne, brought suche meate to the caue as he could kill in the wood. The whiche meate the seruant rostyng against the Sunne (beeyng in the moste hot countrey of all *Affrica*) did eate from tyme to tyme. At length yet beyng wearie of suche a lothsome life, he left the caue and came abroad, by meanes whereof he was taken again, and beyng a slaue to his maister (who had power of life and death ouer him) he was condemned to be cast to wilde beastes at Rome, there to be deuoured of a Lion. The poore caitife stoode pitifully in the sight of thousandes, euer looking when he should be deuoured. It happened at the same tyme whē this fellowe was thus adiudged to die that the same Lion was taken, whose foote he healed in the wood. Whē the Lion was put to him, he came first very terrible towardes the fellowe, and immediately knowyng what he was, stoode still, and at length fawned gently vpon hym. The fellowe at firste

beyng

beyng amased, began to take harte vnto him afterwardes, as half knowyng hym likewise, and thus thei beganne bothe to take acquaintance the one of the other, and plaied together a good space without all daunger, wherevpon the people beyng amased, muche wondered at the straungenesse of this thyng. And standyng thus astonied, thei sent to knowe of the slaue what this matter should meane. Unto whom this poore wretche opened the whole thyng altogether euen as it happened. When the people heard this, thei not onely reioyced muche at the sight thereof, but also thei made earnest request to his maister for his life. His maister marueilyng asmuche as any of them at suche an vnwōted kindnesse: gaue him not onely his life, but also his freedome. And now to the ende he might haue somewhat wherevpon to liue, the people gaue hym a fee for terme of his life. The fellowe by and by got hym a lime and a coler, and caried the Lion vp and doune the citie in suche sort, as huntesmen carry a greihōd or a spaniell, the people still wondring and saiyng euer as he came by: behold a man that hath cured a līō behold a Lion that hath saued a man. The which exāple the more strange it is, the more asshamed maie thei be that are vnnaturall, and maie learne kindnes of a brute beast. For suche men beyng ouercome with kindnes by beastes, are worse then beastes, & more mete rather to be tormentes with deuils, then to liue with men.

¶ Of enlargyng examples by copie.

AND nowe because examples enriched by copie, help muche for amplification: I will giue a taste how these and suche like histories maie be encreased. And for the better handlyng of theim, needefull it is to marke well the circumstaunces: that beyng well obserued and compared together on bothe partes thei maie the rather be enlarged. As thus. That which brute beastes haue doen, shalt thou beyng a man, seme not to haue dooen? Thei shewed them selues naturall, and wilt thou appeare vnnaturall? Naie, thei ouercame Nature, and wilt thou be ouercome of them? Thei became of beastes in bodie, menne in Nature, and wilt thou become a man in bodie, a beast in Nature? Thei beyng without reason, declared the propertie of reasonable creatures, and wilte thou, beyng a man endued with reason, appere in thy doinges altogether vnreasonable? Shal Dogges be thankfull:

Examples enlarged.

and men, yea, chriſten men want ſuche a vertue: Shall wormes ſhewe ſuche kindneſſe: and men appeare graceleſſe: It had been no matter if thei had been vnthankfull: but man can neuer eſcape blame, ſeeyng God hath commaunded, and Nature hath graffed this in all men: that thei ſhould doe to other, as thei would be doen vnto. Again, thei for meate onely ſhewed themſelues ſo kind: and ſhall man for ſo many benefites receiued, and for ſuche goodneſſe ſhewed, requite for good will euill deedes: for hartie loue deadly hatred: for vertue vice, and for life giuen to hym, yeeld death to other? Nature hath parted man and beaſte: and ſhall man in Nature be no man? Shamed be that wretch that goeth againſt Nature, that onely hath the ſhape of a man, and in Nature is worſe then a beaſt. Yea, worthy are all ſuche rather to be ioyne with deuils, then to liue with men. Thus an example might moſte copiouſly be augmented, but thus muche for this tyme is ſufficient.

Poeticall narrations profitable.

The ſaiyng of Poetes and all their fables are not to be forgotten, for by them we maie talke at large, and win men by perſwaſion, if we declare before hand that theſe tales were not fained of ſuche wiſemen without cauſe, neither yet continued vntill this tyme, and kept in memore without good conſideration, and therupon declare the true meanyng of all ſuche writing. For vndoubtedly there is no one tale emong al the Poets, but vnder theſame is comprehended ſome thing that parteineth, either to the amendement of maners, to the knowledge of the truthe, to the ſettyng forthe of natures worke, or els the vnderſtanding of ſome notable thing doorn. For what other is the painfull trauaile of *Vlesſes*, deſcribed ſo largely by *Homere*, but a liuely picture of mans miſery in this life. And as *Plutarche* ſaieth: and likewiſe *Baſilius Magnus*: in the *Ihades* are deſcribed ſtrength, and valiantneſſe of the bodie: In *Odiſſea* is ſet forthe a liuely paterne of the mynde. The Poetes are wiſemen, and wiſhed in harte the redreſſe of thynges, the whiche when for feare, thei durſte not openly rebuke, thei did in colours painte them out, and told men by ſhadowes what thei ſhould dooe in good ſothe, or els becauſe the wicked were vnworthie to heare the truthe, thei ſpake ſo that none might vnderſtande but thoſe vnto whom thei pleaſe to vtter their meanyng, and knewe them to be men of honeſt conuerſation.

Poetes vnder colours, ſhewe muche wiſedome.

We

We read of *Danae* the faire damosell, whom *Iupiter* tẽpted full ofte, and could neuer haue his pleasure, till at length he made it Raine golde, and so as she satte in her Chinney, a greate deale fell vpon her lappe, the whiche she tooke gladly and kept it there, within the whiche golde, *Iupiter* hym selfe was comprehended, wherevp is none other thyng els signified, but that women haue been, and will be ouercome with money. Danae.

Likewise *Iupiter* lusting the faire maide *Isis*, could not haue his will, till he tourned hymself into a faire white Bull, whiche signified that beautie maie ouercome the beste. Isis.

If a man could speake against couetous caitiues, can he better shewe what thei are, then by settyng forth the strange plague of *Tantalus*, who is reported to bee in hell, hauyng Water commyng still to his chinne, and yet neuer able to drinke: and an Apple hangyng before his mouthe, and yet neuer able to eate? Tentalus.

Icarus would needes haue winges, and flie contrary to Nature, wherevpon when he had set them together with Ware, and ioyned to his side, and mounted vp into the ayre. But so soone as the Sunne had somewhat heated hym, and his ware began to melte, he fell doune into a greate Riuer, and was drouned out of hand, the whiche water was euer after called by his name. Now what other thyng dooeth this tale shewe vs, but that euery man should not meddle with thynges aboue his compasse. Icarus.

Midas desired that whatsoeuer he touched, the same might be golde: wherevpon when *Iupiter* had graunted hym his bound: his meate, drinke, and all other thynges tourned into golde, and he choked with his owne desire, as all coueteous men lightly shalbe, that can neuer be content when thei haue enough. Midas.

What other thyng are the wonderfull labours of *Hercules*, but that reason should withstande affection, and the spirit for euer should fight against the flesh? We christians had like fables here tofore of ioylie fellowes, the Images whereof were sette vp (in Gods name) euen in our Churches. But is any man so madde to thinke that euer there was suche a one as S. Christofer was painted vnto vs? Nay God forbid. Assuredly whē we liued vpō earth there were other hauses builded for hym, then wer haue at this time, and I thinke Tailers wer muche troubled to take measure Hercules labours, what thei signified.

S. Christofer, what he signified.

of him for makyng his garmentes he might be of kin to Gargantua if he were as bigge as he is set forthe in Antwerpt. But thi was the meanyng of our elders (and the name self dooeth signifie none other) that euery man should beare Christe vpon his backe, that is to saie, he should loue his brother, as Christ loued vs, and gaue his bodie for vs: he should trauaile through hunger, cold, sorowe, sickneſſe, death, and all daungers, with all suffraunce that might be. And whether should he trauaile? to the euerliuyng God. But how? In darkenes? No forsoth by the light of his worde. And therfore S. Christofer beyng in the sea, and not well able to get out (that is to saie) being almoſte drouned in sinne, and not knowing whiche waie best to escape) an Eremite appered vnto him with a lanterne and a light therein, the whiche dooeth signifie none other thing to the christian, but the true worde of God, whiche lightneth the hartes of men, and giueth vnderſtãding to the ponglinges (as the Prophet dooeth saie.) Again, S. George he is set on horſebacke and killeth a Dragõ with his speare, which Dragon would haue deuoured a virgine, whereby is none other thing ment, but that a kyng and euery man, vnto whom the execucion of iuſtice is committed, should defende the innocent against the vngodlie attemptes of the wicked, and rather kill suche deuills by Marciall lawe, then suffer the innocentes to take any wrong. But who gaue our clergie any suche authoritie that thoſe monsters should be in churches, as lay mennes bookes? God forbadd by expreſſe woorde, to make any grauen Image, and shall we be so bold to breake Gods will for a good intent, and call these Idols laie mennes bookes? I could talke largely of examples, and heape a number here together, aſwell of Ethnike authours, as of other here at home: but for feare I should be tedious, these for this tyme shall suffice.

S. George on horſebacke.

¶ Of Fables.

Apologi.

The feined Fables, suche as are attributed vnto brute beaſtes, would not bee forgotten at any hande. For not onely thei delite the rude and ignorant, but alſo thei helpe muche for perſwasion. And becauſe suche as speake in open audience, haue euer mo fooles to heare them, then wiſe men to giue iudgement: I would thinke it not amiſſe to speake muche, according to the nature and phantie of the ignorant, that therather thei might be

be won through Fables, to learne more weightie and graue matters, for all men can not brooke sage causes, and auncient collations: but will like earnest matters the rather, if some thyng bee spoken there emõg agreyng to their natures. The multitude (as *Horace* doeth saie) is a beast, or rather a monster that hath many heddes, and therfore like vnto the diuersitie of natures, varietie of of inuencion muste alwaies bee vsed. Talke altogether of meste graue matters, or depely searche out the ground of thinges or vse the quiddities of *Dunce*, to set forthe the gods misteries: and you shal se the ignorant (I warrante you) either fall a slepe, or els bid you farewell. The multitude must needes be made merie: the more foolishe your talke is, the more wise will thei compt it to be. And yet it is no foolishnesse, but rather wisedome to win men, by telyng of fables to heare of Gods goodnesse. Undoubtedly fables well set forthe, haue doen muche good at diuers tymes, and in diuers common weales. The Romaine *Menenius Agrippa*, alledgyng vpon a tyme, a fable of the conflict made betwixt the partes of a mãnes bodie, and his bealie: quieted a marueilous stirre that was like to ensue, and pacified the vprore of seditious Rebelles, whiche els thought for euer to destroie their countrie. *Themistocles* perswaded the *Athenians* not to change their officers, by rehearsyng the fable of a scabbed Fox. For (q he) when many flies stode seedyng vpon his rawe flesh, and had well fed them selues, he was contented at en others perswasion, to haue them flapte awaie: whereuppon there ensued suche hungrie flies afterwardes, that the sorie Fox beeyng all alone, was eaten vp almoste to the hard bone, and therefore cursed the time, that euer he agreed to anye suche euill counsaile. In like maner (q *Themistocles*) if you will chaunge officers, the hungrie flies will eate you vp one after an other, whereas now you liue beyng but onely bitten, and like to haue no farther harme, but rather muche wealthe and quietnesse hereafter, because thei are filled and haue enough, that heretofore suckt so moche of your blood.

Fables, how needefull thei are to teache thingnorant.

Now likewise, as I gaue a lesson how to enlarge an example, so maie fables also in like sort be set out, and augmented at large by amplification. Thus muche for the vse of fables. Again, sometymes feined narratiõs, and wittie inuented matters (as though

thei wer true in deede) helpe well to set forward a cause, and haue great grace in them beyng aptly vsed and well inuented. *Luciane* passeth in this poinct: and sir Thomas More for his *Eutopia*, can soner bee remembred of me, then worthely praised of any, accordyng to the excellencie of his inuention in that behalfe dooeth moste iustly require.

Digestion.

Digestio. DIgestion is an orderly placyng of thinges, partyng euery matter seuerally. *Tullie* hath an example hereof in his Oration whiche he made for *Sextus Roscius Amarinus*. There are three thinges (of *Tullie*) which hinder *Sextus Roscius* at this tyme, the accusation of his aduersaries, the boldnesse of them, and the power that they beare. *Erucius* his accuser hath taken vpon hym to forge false matter, the *Roscians* kinsfolke haue boldly aduentured, and will face out their doynges, and *Chrisogonus* here that moste can doe, will presse vs with his power.

A whisht or a warnyng to speake no more.

Reticentia. AWhisht is when we bid them holde their peace, that haue least cause to speake, and can doe little good with their talkyng. *Diogenes* beyng vpon the Sea enduryng a number of naughtie packes, in a greate storme of weather, when diuers of these wicked fellowes cried out for feare of drounyng, some with feined prayer to *Iupiter*, some to *Neptune*, and euery one as thei

Diogenes. best fantasied the goddes aboue: whisht (of *Diogenes*) for by goddes mother, if God hymselfe knowe you to bee here, you were like to bee drowned euery mothers soonne of you. Meanyng that thei were so nought, and so fainedly made their prayer to false goddes, without minde to amende their naughtie life, that the liuyng God would not leaue them vnpunished, though thei cried out neuer so faste. We vse this figure likewise when in speakyng of any man: we saie whishte, the Woulfe is at hande, when the same man commeth in the meane season, of whom we spake before.

Contrarietie.

Contentio. COntrarietie, is when our talke standeth by contrary wordes or sentences together. As thus. We might dispraise some one man, he is of a straunge nature as euer I sawe, for to his freende he is churlishe, to his foe he is gentle: giue hym

faire

faire woordes and you offende hym: checke hym sharply, and you winne hym. Lette hym haue his will, and he will flie in thy face: keepe hym shorte, and you shall haue hym at commaundement.

¶ *Freenesse of speeche.*

FReenesse of speeche, is when we speake boldly and without feare, euen to the proudest of them, what soeuer we please or haue lust to speake. *Diogenes* herein did excell, and feared no manne when he sawe iuste cause to saie his mynde. This world wanteth suche as he was, and hath ouer many suche as neuer honest man was, that is to saie, flatterers, faumers, and soothers of mennes sayinges. *Libera vox.*

¶ *Stomacke greef.*

STomache greef, is when wee will take the matter as hote as a taste. We neede no examples for this matter hote men haue too many, of whom thei mate bee bolde and spare not that finde themselues a cold. Sometymes wee entreate earnestly, and make meanes by prayer to winne fauour. Sometimes we seeke fauour by speakyng well of the companie presence. As. Thoughe your helpe my Lordes, this good deede hath been doen. Sometymes we speake to hurt our aduersaries, by settyng forthe their euill behauiour. Sometymes wee excuse a faulte, and accuse the reporters. Sometymes we wishe vnto God for redresse of euill. Sometymes we curse the extreme wickednesse of some paste good rotters. In all whiche I thinke neither examples neede, nor yet any rehearsall hath been greately necessarie, cõsideryng all these come without any great learnyng sauyng that for apt bestowyng, iudgement is right needefull. *Iracundia. Deprecatio. Conciliatio. Lasio. Purgatio. Optation. Execratio.*

¶ *Of figures and sentences called Schemes.*

WHen any sentence vpon the placyng or settyng of woordes, is saied to bee a figure: the saied is alwaies called a Scheme, the whiche woordes beyng altered or displaced, the figure straight dooeth lose his name, and is called no more a Scheme. Of this sorte there is diuers, suche as hereafter folowe.

¶ *Doublettes.*

DOublettes, is when we rehearse one and the same woorde ewise together. Ah wretche, wretche, that I am. *Tullie* against *Catiline*, enueighyng sore against his traiterous attemptes, *Germinatio. Verborum.*

atempteſ, ſaieth after a long rehearſed matter, and yet notwithſtandyng all this notorious wickednesſe: The man liueth ſtill, liueth: Nate Marie, he cometh into the counſaile houſe, whiche is more. An other: Dareſt thou ſhewe thy face, thou wretched theef thou theef, I ſaie to thine owne father, dareſt thou looke abrode: Thus the oft repeatyng of one worde, doeth muche ſtirre the hearer, and makes the woorde ſeeme greater, as though a ſworde were ofte digged and thruſte twiſe, or thriſe in one place of the bodie.

Paulum immutatum verbum.

¶ Alteryng parte of a worde.

Alteryng part of a worde, is when we take a letter or ſillable from ſome worde, or els adde a letter, or ſillable to a worde. As thus. Willyam Somer ſeyng muche a doe for accomptes makyng, and that the Kynges Maieſtie of moſte worthie memorie Henry the eighe wanted money, ſuche as was due vnto hym: and pleaſe your grace (quhe) you haue ſo many Frauditours, ſo many Conueighers, and ſo many Deceiuers to get vp your money, that thei get all to themſelues. Whether he ſaied true or no, lette God iudge that, it was vnhappely ſpoken of a foole, and I thinke he had ſome Schoolemaiſter: he ſhould haue ſaied Auditours, Surueighours, and Receiuers.

Repetitio a primo.

¶ Repetition.

Repetition, is when we beginne diuers ſentences, one after an other: with one and theſame worde. As thus: When thou ſhalt appere at the terrible daie of Judgemente, before the high maieſtie of God, where is then thy richeſſe: Where is then thy deintie fare: Where is then thy great band men: Where are then thy faire houſes: Where are then all thy landes, paſtures, parkes, and forteſſes: I might ſaie thus of our ſouuraigne Lorde the Kynges Maieſtie, that now is: kyng Edward hath ouerthrowen Idolatrie, Kyng Edward hath baniſhed ſuperſtition: kyng Edward by Gods help, hath brought vs to the true knowledg of our creation: kyng Edward hath quieted our conſciences, and laboured that all his people ſhould ſeeke healthe, by the death and paſſion of Chriſt alone.

¶ Conuerſion.

Conuerſion

CONuersion, is an oft repeatyng of the laste woorde, and is contrary to that whiche went before. When iuste dealyng is not vsed: wealthe goeth awaie, frendshyp goeth awaie, truthe goeth awaie, all goodnesse (to speake at a woorde) goeth awaie. Where affections beare rule, there reason is subdued, honestie is subdued, good will is subdued, and all thynges els that withstande cuill, for euer are subdued. *Conuersio eiusdem in extremum.*

¶ Comprehension.

COmprehension, is whē bothe the aboue rehearsed figures, are in one kinde of speakyng vsed, so that bothe one firste woorde must oft be rehearsed, and likewise all one laste word. What winneth the hartes of men? liberalitie. What causeth mē to aduenture their liues, and die willingly in defence of their maisters? liberalitie. What cōtinueth the estate of a king? liberalitie? What becometh a woman beste, and first of all? Silence. What second? Silence. What third? Silence. What fourth? Silence. Yea if a man should aske me till Domes daie, I would still crie silence, silence: without the whiche no woman hath any good gifte, but haupng thesame, no doubt she must haue many other notable giftes, as the whiche of necessitie, doe euer folowe suche a vertue. *Cenuersio in eadem.* *Silence becometh a woman.*

¶ Progression.

PRogression standeth vpon contrary sentences, whiche answere one an other. If we would rebuke a naughtie boy, we might with commendyng a good boye, saie thus. What a boy art thou in comparison of this fellowe here. Thou sleapes: he wakes: thou plaies: he studies: thou art euer abroade: he is euer at home: thou neuer waites: he still doeth his attendance. thou carest for no bodie: he doeth his duetie to all men: thou doest what thou canst to hurte all, and please none: he dooeth what he can to hurte none, and please all. *Progressio.*

¶ Like endyng, and like fallyng.

THen the sentences are said to ende like, when those woordes doe ende in like sillables whiche do lacke cases. Thou liues wickedly, thou speakest naughtely. The rebels of Northfolke (ꝙ a moste worthy manne that made an inuectiue againste them) through slauerie, shewe nobilitie in deede miserably, in fashion cruelly, in cause deuilishly. Sentences also are saied to fall like *Similiter desinens, similiter cadens.*

like, when diuers woordes in one sentence ende in like cases, and that in ryme. By greate trauaile is gotten muche auaile, by earnest affection men learne discretion.

These twoo kindes of Oroynation are then moste delitefull, when contrary thynges are repeated together: when that once again is vttered whiche before was spoken: when sentences are turned and letters are altered. Of the first this maie bee an example: where learnyng is loued, there labour is esteemed: but where sloth is thought solace, there rudenesse taketh place. A kyng is honored that is a kyng in deede: will you drinke or you go, or will you goe or you drinke. There is a difference betwixte an horsmilne, and a milne horse. He is a meter man to drive the cart, then to serue the court. Through labor cometh honor, through idle liuing followeth hangyng. Diuers in this our tyme delite muche in this kinde of writyng, whiche beyng measurably vsed deliteth muche the hearers, otherwise it offendeth, and wearieth mennes eares with tacietie. S. *Augustine* had a goodly gift in this behalf, and yet some thinkes he forgot measure, & vsed ouermuche this kinde of figure. Notwithstanding, the people were suche where he liued, that thei tooke muche delite in rimed sentences, and in Orations made ballade wise. Yea, thei were so nice and so waiward to please, that except the preacher from tyme to tyme could rime out his sermon, would not long abide the hearing. *Tacitus* also sheweth that in his tyme, the Iudges and Seriantes at the lawe, were driuen to vse this kinde of phrase, bothe in their writyng, and also in their speakyng. Yea, greate lordes would thinke themselues contemned, if learned men (when thei speake before them) sought not to speake in this sort. So that for the flowyng stile and full sentence, crept in minstrells elocution, talkyng matters altogether in rime, and for waightinesse and grauitie of woordes, succedyng nothyng els but wantonnesse of inuention. *Tullie* was forsaken, with *Liuie*, *Cæsar*, and other: and *Apuleius*, *Ausonius*, with suche Minstrell makers were altogether followed. And I thinke the Popes heretofore (seyng the peoples folie to be suche) made all our Hymnes and Anthemes in rime, that with the singyng men, playyng of organes, ringyng of bells, and rimyng of Hymnes and Sequences the poore ignorant might thinke the harmonie to be heauenly, and verely

Augustine.

Tacitus.

Rimed sentences, vsed without measure.

Rimes made to mocke the simple.

verely beleue that the Angels of God made not a better noyce in heauen. I speake thus muche of these ii. figures, not that I think folie to vse them (for thei are pleasant and praise worthie) but my talke is to this ende, that thei should neither onely nor cheefly be vsed, as I knowe some in this our tyme, do ouermuche vse them in their writinges. And ouermuche (as all mē knowe) was neuer good yet. Yea a man maie haue ouermuch of his mothers blessing if she will neuer leaue blessyng. Therefore a measure is best, yea, euen in the best thynges. And thus farre for these twoo figures.

¶ *Egall members.*

EGall members are suche, when the one halfe of the sentence answereth to the other, with iuste proportion of number, not that the Sillables of necessitie should bee of iuste number, but that the eare might iudge them to be so egall, that there maie appeare small difference. As thus. Lawe without mercie, is extreme power, yet menne through folie deserue suche Iustice. Learning is daungerous, if an euill manne haue it. The more noble a man is, the more gentle he should be. *Isocrates* passeth in this behalf, who is thought to write altogether in nomber, keepyng iuste proportion in frampng of his sentence. *Paria paribus relata.*

¶ *Like emong themselues.*

SEntences are called like when contraries are sett together, and the first taketh asmuche as the other folowyng: and the other followyng taketh asmuche awaie, as that did whiche went before. As thus. Luste hath ouercome shamefastnesse, impudencie hath ouercome feare, and madnesse hath ouercome reason. Or els sentences are saied to be like emong thē selues, when euery part of one sentēce is egall, and of like waight one with an other. As thus. Is it knowne, tried, proued, euident, open, and assured that I did suche a deede? An other, Suche riot, Dicyng, Cardyng, pickyng, stealyng, fightyng, Ruffians, quenes and harlottes must needes bryng hym to naught. *Similia inter se.*

¶ *Gradation.*

RAdation, is when we reherse the worde that goeth next before, & bryng an other worde thervpon that encreaseth the matter, as though one should go vp a paire of staiers and not leaue till he come at the top. Or thus. Gradation is when *Gradatio.*

a ſentence is diſſeuered by degrees, ſo that the woꝛde whiche endeth the ſentence goyng beſoꝛe doeth begin the next. Labour getteth learnyng, learnyng getteth fame, fame getteth honour, honour getteth bleſſe foꝛ euer. An other. Of ſlothe cometh pleaſure, of pleaſure cometh ſpendyng, of ſpendyng cometh whoꝛyng, of whoꝛyng cometh lacke, of lacke cometh theſte, of theſte cometh hangyng, and there an ende foꝛ this woꝛlde.

¶ *Regreſſion.*

Regreſſio. That is called regreſſion, when we repeate a woꝛde eftſons that hath bin ſpoken and reherſed beſoꝛe, whether the ſame be in the beginnyng, in the middeſt, oꝛ in the latter ende of a ſentence. In the beginnyng, thus. Thou art oꝛdeined to rule other, and not other to rule thee. In the middeſt, thus. He that hath money hath not giuen it, and he that hath giuen money, hath not his money ſtill, and he that hath giuen thankes, hath thankes ſtill and he that hath them ſtill, hath giuen them not withſtandyng. In the latter ende, thus. Man muſte not liue to eate, but eate to liue. Man is not made foꝛ the ſabboth, but the ſabboth is made foꝛ man. If man doe any filthy thing, and take pleaſure therin: the pleaſure goeth awaie, but the ſhame tarieth ſtil. If man do any good thing with paine, the paines goe awaie, but the honeſtie abideth ſtill.

¶ *Woordes looſe.*

Diſſolutum. WOꝛdes looſe are ſuche, whiche as are vttered without any addition of coniunctions, ſuche as knitte woꝛdes and ſentences together. As thus. Obeye the Kyng, feare his lawes, keepe thy vocation, dooe right, ſeeke reſte, like well a little, vſe all men, as thou wouldeſt thei ſhould vſe thee.

¶ *Out cryng.*

Exclamatio. OUt cryng, is when with voice we make an exclamation. Oh Loꝛde, O God, O woꝛlde, O life, O maners of men: O death, where is thy ſting? O hell, where is thy victoꝛy?

¶ *Oft vſyng of one worde in diuers places.*

CAn he haue any mannes harte in hym, oꝛ deſerueth he the name of a man, that cruelly killeth a pooꝛe innocent man, who neuer thought hym harme.

¶ *A cauſe giuen to a ſentence vttered.*

I Feare not myne aduersarie, because I am not guiltie. I mistrust not the Iudges, because thei are iuste, the quest will not caste me, the matter is so plaine.

¶ A cause giuen to thynges contrary.

BEtter it were to rule, then to serue: For, he that ruleth, liueth: because he is free. But he that serueth, cannot be said to liue. For wher bōdage is, there is no life properly

Sufferaunce.

TAke your pleasure for a tyme, and do what you list, a tyme will come when accoumpt shalbe made. When thynges cannot be that we would haue, we should will that, whiche we can haue. Pacience is a remedie for euery disease. *Permitio.*

A doubtyng.

SHall I call hym foole, or shall I call hym barlet, or both? Another. What made hym to commit such a robberie? Lacke of money, or lacke of witte, or lacke of honestie? I doubt whether to call hym a foolishe knaue, or a knauishe foole. When much matter was here in Englande, for calling the Pope supreme hed of the Churche (of a Spanyarde, that whilome was of the Popes Courte in Rome) you doubte muche here in Englande, whether the Pope be hed of the Church or no, and greate variaunce there is emonges you, at the whiche folly of yours I doe much maruaile, for we doubt much at Rome whether he be a member of the Churche at all or no. *Dubitatio.* A Spanyards doubt

Reckenyng.

REckening is when many thinges are nombred together There is no streate, no house, no man, no childe, no shop, no lodging in all this towne, but he hath been in it. There is no stone, no Diamonde, no Saphire, no Rubie, no Chrystall: no Turcasse, no Emerode, but he knoweth them perfectly. By this figure wee maie enlarge that, by rehersyng of the partes, whiche was spoken generally, and in fewe wordes. This maie be an example. Suche a Gentleman beyng an vnthrifte, hath spent all that euer he had. Thus the sentence maie be amplified, if wee shewe particularly what he had, and tell seuerally how he spent it. Looke what enheritance came to him (which was no smal thing) by the death of his owne kinne, and his wifes kinfolke: What *Dinumeratio.* Sentence amplified by seuerall rehersing of thinges.

dower soeuer he had by mariage of his wife, whiche by reporte was a very greate thyng: What soeuer he gotte by executorship: What soeuer the Kynges Maiestie gaue hym. What booties soeuer he gotte in warrefare, looke what money he had, what plate, what apparell, what houshold stuffe, what lande and Lordeships, what Sheepe, gooddes, Parkes, and Medowes, yea, what soeuer he had, moueable, or vnmoueable, his house, and all that euer he hadde: he hath so spent in fewe daies, so wasted it, and made suche hauocke of all together, emong the beastly companie of filthie queanes, emong abhominable harlottes, with banquetyng from daie to daie, with sumptuous rare Suppers, with drinkyng in the night, with dainties and delicates, and all such swéete delites, with Dicyng, Carding, and all maner of gamenyng: that he hath nowe lefte neither crosse nor crucifixe, no not a dodkin in all the worlde to blesse hym self with all. Thus these woordes (he hath spent all his gooddes in riot) are dilated and set forthe at large, by rehearsyng seuerally euery thing one after another.

¶ Reasonyng a matter with our selues.

Disputatio. WHen wee reason the matter with our selues, when wee aske questions of our selues, and answere thereunto. As thus. Howe came this good fellowe by all that he hath? Did his father leaue hym any lande? Not a foote. Did his frendes giue hym any thyng? Not a groate. Hath he serued in any vocation, to heape vp so muche wealth? None hath liued more idely. Doeth he not leane to some noble man? Yea, but he neuer receiued more then fower marke wages. How then cometh he by all that euer he hath, liuyng without labour, hauyng no frendes to helpe hym, hauing so litle to take vnto by all outward apparance, and spendyng so liberally, and owyng no manne a groate in all the worlde? Assuredly, it cannot bee otherwise, but that he commeth naughtily by most of that which he hath. Another. Seing thou art so basely borne, so poore in state, so smally learned, so harde fauoured, and hast no witte at all, what meanest thou to daunt thy self so much, & to make such bragges as thou doest. What doth make thee to ware so proude? Thy stocke whereof thou diddest come? Why man they are very base folke. Thine owne wealth? Tushe, thou art as poore as Job. Thy learning? Marie thou neuer camst

yet

yet where any learnyng did growe. Thy beautie? Now in good sothe, a wrorse fauoured man can there not be vpon yearth againe. Thy witte? Now God he knoweth, it is as blounte as many be. What other thing thē is all this thy braggyng, but plain madnes.

¶ *Resemblyng of thynges.*

Imago.

RESemblyng of thynges, is a comparyng or likyng of looke, with looke, shape, with shape, and one thyng with an other. As when I see one in a greate heate, and fiersely set vpon his enemie, I might saie, he let flee at hym like a Dragon. Or thus. He lookes like a Tiger, a man would thinke he would eate one, his countenance is so ougle. He speakes not, but he barkes like a Dogge: he whettes his teeth like a Boore, he beates the grounde with his foote like a greate Horse: he is as raumpyng as a Lion. By this figure called in Latine *Imago*, that is to saie an Image, wee mighte compare one man with another, as *Salust* compareth *Cæsar* and *Cato* together, or we might heape many men together, and proue by large rehersall any thyng that we would, the whithe of the *Logicians* is called induction.

¶ *Answerying to our self.*

Sibi ipsi responsio.

WE are saied to aunswere our self, when we seme to tell our self what we will doe, *Phedria* in *Terence* beeyng muche troubled and out of quiet, because he was not receiued of his woman, but shutte out of doores, when he was moste willyng to see her, made as though he would not come to her afterwardes, nor yet see her at all, when she did moste iently sende for hym. And therefore beyng in his anger, thus he saied: Well, what shall I doe? Shall I not goe, not euen now when she sendes for me of her owne accorde? Or shall I be of such a nature, that I can not abide the despitefulnesse of Harlottes? She hath shutte me out, she calles me againe. Shall I goe to her? Naie I will not though she entreate me neuer so faire.

Order.

Ordo.

ORder is of two sortes, the one is when the worthier is preferred and set before. As a man is sette before a woman. The second is, when in amplification, the weightiest wordes are set last, & in diminishyng the same are

sette so moste. With what looke, with what face, with what hart dare thou doe suche a deede?

Briefe describyng, or circumscription.

Circumscriptio.

Circumscription is a breef declaryng of a thing. As thus. He is free that is subiect to no cuill. It is a vertue to eschewe vice.

There are diuerse other colours of *Rhetorique*, to commende and set forth a sentence, by chaunge of wordes and much varietie of speache, but I had rather offende in speakyng to little, then deserue rebuke in saiyng to muche. For as muche as close silence maie soner be pardoned, then immoderate bablyng can want iust blame, and therefore thus an ende.

Of Memorie.

As I haue labored to set out the other parts of *Rhetorique*, in suche ample wise as I thought moste nedefull, so it standeth me in hande, not to slacken myne endeuour, now that I am come to speake of memorie. For, though manne haue vnderstandyng and iudgement, whiche is one parte of wisedome: yet wantyng a remembraunce to applie thinges aptly, when time and place shall best require: he shall doe but small good with all his vnderstandyng. And therefore it is saied not without reason, that the same is memorie to the minde, that life is to the body. Nowe then what els must they doe that esteme reason and loue knowledge, but cherishe the memorie from tyme to tyme, as an especiall and soueraine preseruatiue, against thinfection of cankard oblition. The faulkners saie, it is the first poinct of haukyng to holde fast. And yet I cannot thinke otherwise, but that in all good learnyng also, it is beste and moste expedient euermore to holde fast. For, what auaile good thinges if we cannot kepe them, if we receiue them in at one eare, and let them out as fast again at the other eare? A good thriftie man will gather his goods together in time of plentie, and laie them out againe in tyme of neede: and shall not an Oratour haue in store good matter, in the cheste of his memorie, to vse and bestowe in tyme of necessitie? I doubt not, but all men desire to haue a good remembraunce of thynges, the whiche what it is, howe it is diuided, and how it maie bee preserued, I will shewe in as fewe wordes as I can.

What

¶ What is memorie.

Memorie what it is.

MEmorie is the power retentiue of mynde, to keepe those thynges, which by mannes witte are conceiued, or thus. Memory is the power of the minde that conteineth thinges receiued, that calleth to mynde thynges past, and renueth of freshe, thinges forgotten.

The Place of Memorie.

THe Phisicians declare, that in the former parte of the hed lieth the common sense, the whiche is therefore so called, because it geueth iudgement, of al the fiue outwarde sences, onely when they are presently occupied aboute any thyng. As when I heare a thyng, or see a thyng, my common sense iudgeth, that then I doe heare, or see the same. But the memorie called the Threasure of the mynde, lieth in the hynder parte, the whiche is made moste perfect by temperatnesse, and moderation of qualities in the braine. For where humours excede or want, there must nedes ensue muche weakenesse of remembraunce. Children therefore beyng ouer moyste, and olde men ouer drie, haue neuer good memories. Againe, where ouer muche colde is, and extreme moysture, there is euer muche forgetfullnesse. Therefore it maketh greatly, what bodies we haue, and of what constitution they be compact together. For suche as be hotte and moyste, doe sone conceiue matters, but thei kepe not long. Againe, thei that be colde and drie, doe hardely conceiue, but they keepe it surely when thei once haue it. And the reason is this, heate beyng chiefe qualitie, doeth drawe thinges vnto it (as wee maie see by the Sonne) the which notwithstandyng are soner after dissipated and resolued. Againe, who hath seen a print made in water of any earthly thyng? Than though heate and moysture together, drawe thinges vnto them, yet (we see plainly) thei cannot long holde them. But when the brain is cold and drie, thinges are therefore the faster holden, because it is the propertie of colde and droughte, to thicken all thinges, and to harden theim faste together, as we see the water through coldenesse is congeled, and softe thynges are frosen sometymes: almoste as harde as a stone. So that moysture through heate being their qualitie, doth drawe: and drought through coldnesse, whiche is chiefe contrary to heate, doth

Children and olde mē haue but euill memories.

Hot & moyst bodies sone conceiue.

Colde and drie keepe thinges sure.

harden and make thynges faste together. But now how doe wee knowe, that the memorie resteth in the latter parte of the hedde? No doubt, experience hath proued, and confirmed this to be moste true. For, there hath been some, that beeyng hurte in that parte, haue vtterly forgot their owne name. I doe remember one man, that (beyng hurte in that place, at the insurrection of the Lincolneshire men, fifteene yeares paste) could not deuise the makyng of some Letters, in his Crosse rowe, when he tooke penne and inke to write to his frende, whereas before that tyme, he wrote bothe fast and faire, and was learned in the Latine. And therefore when he wrote, he would stande musyng a greate while, before he could call to his remembraunce, how he vsed to make a. B. A. B. or such an other Letter, wherevpon diuers muche marualled what he would haue, or what he ment at the first tyme. For beyng greued and willyng to aske helpe, he could not vtter his meanyng, for lacke of remembraunce, and yet his tongue serued hym well otherwise, to vtter what soeuer came in his hedde.

Memorie in the latter parte of the hedde.

¶ The deuision of memorie.

Memorie diuided.

MEmorie is partely naturall, and partely artificiall. Naturall memorie, is when without any preceptes or lessons, by the onely aptnesse of nature, we beare awaie suche thinges as we heare. Wherein some heretofore did muche excell, and greatly passe al other. As *Themistocles* who had so good a memorie, that whē one proffered to teache him the arte of memorie, naie by saincte Marie (q he) teache me rather the arte of forgettyng. Declaryng thereby that his memorie was passing good, & that it was more plain for hym, to forget suche thinges, as he would not keepe, then hard to remember suche thinges as he would knowe.

Themistocles.

Mithridates also had suche an excellent memorie, that whereas he was Lorde and ruler ouer .xxij. straunge Countries, that speake diuers speeches one from another: he was able to talke with euery one of them in their owne countrey language.

Mithridates

Likewise *Cyrus* Kyng of the *Persians*, hauyng a greate army of men, knewe the names of all his Souldiours.

Cyrus.

Cyneas Ambassadour for Kyng *Pyrrhus* called euery one by his name, that was in the Parleament house at Rome, the second daie after he came thether, the nomber of them beyng fower times as

Cyneas.

as many as they be, that belong vnto the Parliament here in Englande.

Iulius Cesar is reported that he could reade, heare, and tell one what he should write, so faste as his penne could runne, and endite Letters hym self altogether at one tyme. Iulius cesar

Thus we see that naturally men haue had wonderfull memories, as contrarywise there haue been heard of as straunge forgetfull wittes. Some hath not knowen his right hande from his lefte. An other hath forgotte his owne name. An other hath caried his knyfe in his mouthe: and hath runne rounde aboute the house seking for it. An other hath tolde a tale halfe an houre together, and immediatly after hath forgotte what he spake all that while. Forgetfull wittes.

Cicero telleth of one *Curio*, that where as he would make a deuision of three partes, he would either forget the third, or make vp a fourthe, contrary to his firste purpose and entent.

This I remember beyng a boye, that where as a Preacher had taken vpon hym to sette forthe the twelue Articles of our beliefe, he could not in all the worlde finde out paste nine. So that he was fame to saie, he was assured there was twelue, where soeuer the other three were become, and he doubted not but the hearers knewe them better then he did, and therfore he would for his part saie no more, but commit them al to God, and those nine (thought he) were enough for hym at that tyme, to set forthe and expounde for their vnderstandyng. Beside this man had the art of forgetyng.

Now the beste meane bothe to mende an euill memorie, and to preserue a good, is firste to keepe a diet, and eschewe surfites, to sleepe moderatly, to accompany with woman rarely, and laste of all to exercise the witte with cunnyng, of many thinges without Booke, and euer to be occupied with one thyng or other. For euen as by labour the witte is whetted, so by lithernes the witte is blounted. Preseruatiō of Memorie.

But now concernyng the other kinde of memorie called artificiall, I haue neede to make a long discourse, considering the straungenesse of the thyng to the Englishe eare, and the hardnes of the matter, to the ignorant and vnlearned. But firste I will shewe from whence it hath begynnyng, and vpon what occasion it was firste inuented, before I aduenture to declare the precептes

that belong vnto the same.

¶ *The firste founder of the arte of Remembraunce.*

Simonides firste authour of the arte of remembraunce

THe inuention of this Arte, is fathered vpon *Simonides*, for when the same man (as the fable recordeth) had made in behaulfe of a triumphant Champion called *Scopas*, for a certaine somme of money a Ballade, suche as was then wonte to bee made for Conquerours: he was denied a peece of his rewarde, because he made a digression in his song (whiche in those daies was customably vsed) to the praise and commendation of *Castor* and *Pollux* (who were then thought bepug Twinnes, and gotte by *Iupiter* to bee Goddes (of whom the Champion willed hym to aske a portion, because he hadde so largely sette forth their worthie doynges. Nowe it chaunced, that where as there was made a greate feaste, to the honour of the same Victorie, and *Simonides* had been placed there as a geste, he was sodainly called from the Table, and tolde that there was twoo young men at the doore, and bothe one horseback, whiche desired moste earnestly to speake with hym out of hande. But when he came out of the doores, he sawe none at all, notwithstandyng, he was not so sone out, and his foote on the Thre shoulde, but the Parlour fell doune immediatly vpon theim all that were there, and so crusshed their bodies together, and in such sorte, that the kinsfolke of those which were dead, commyng in, and desirous to burie them euery one accordyng to their callyng, not onely could they not perceiue theim by their faces, but also they could not discerne theim by any other marke of any parte in all their bodies. Then *Simonides* well remembryng in what place euery one of theim did sitte, tolde theim what euery one was, and gaue them their kinsfolkes carcases, so many as were there. Thus the arte was firste inuented. And yet (though this bee but a fable) reason might beate thus muche into our heades, that if the like thyng had been doen, the like remembraunce might haue been vsed. For who is he that seeth a dosen sit at a Table, whom he knoweth very well, can not tell after they are all risen, where euery one of them did sitte before? And therefore, bee it that some manne inuented this tale: the matter serueth well our purpose, and what neede we any more?

¶ *What thinges are requisite to get the arte of Memorie.*

They

THei that will remember many thinges, and rehearſe them together out of hand: muſt learne to haue places, and digeſt Images in them accordyngly.

A place what it is.

A place is called any roume, apt to receiue thinges.

An Image what it is.

An Image is any picture or ſhape, to declare ſome certaine thyng thereby. And euen as in Waxe wee make a print with a Seale, ſo we haue places where liuely pictures muſt be ſet. The places muſt bee greate, of ſmall diſtaunce, not one like an other, and euermore the fifte place muſt be made notable aboue the reſt, hauyng alwaies ſome ſeuerall note from the other, as ſome antique, or a hande poinctyng, or ſuche like, that the rather hauyng a greate nomber of places, we might the better knowe where wee are, by the remembraunce of ſuche notable and ſtraunge places. And thus hauyng them well appoincted, wee muſt keepe theim freſhe in our memory, and neuer chaunge them but vſe them ſtill, whatſoeuer we haue to ſaie. But the Images we maie chaunge, as the matter ſhall giue iuſte cauſe, vſing ſuche as ſhall ſerue beſt for the knowledge of thinges. The whiche Images muſt be ſette forthe, as though thei were ſtirryng, yea, thei muſt be ſometimes made raumpyng, and laſt of all, thei muſt be made of thinges notable, ſuche as maie cauſe earneſte impreſſion of thinges in our minde. As a notable ruill fauoured man, or a monſtruous Horſe, ſuch as ſaincte Georges Horſe was wonte to be, or any ſuche like helpe well for remembraunce.

Places how thei muſt be.

Images how they muſt be.

i. The places of Memorie, are reſembled vnto Waxe and Paper.
ii. Images are compared like vnto Letters or a Seale.
iii. The placing of theſe Images, is like vnto wordes written.
iiii. The vtteraunce and vſyng of theim, is like vnto readyng.

AND therefore, as we doe reſerue Paper, and yet chaunge our writyng, putting our wordes as occaſion ſhall ſerue, and ſtirryng other in their roume: ſo maie we doe for the

Images inuented, chaunge our picture ofte, and reserue the Papers still. Some gather their places and Images out of the crosse rowe, beginnyng euery Letter with the name of some Beaste, and so goe through the whole, makyng in euery Beaste fiue seuerall places, where the impression of thynges shalbe made, that is to saie, in the Heade, the Beally, in the Taile, in the former parte of the legges, and also in the hinder part. So that by this meanes there shall be gathered, an hundreth and fiftene places.

Some againe will sette their places in his head or bodie, with whom thei speake. As to make the nose, the eyes, the forhead, the haire, the eares, and other partes to serue for places. And for makyng places in any house, Churche, or other roume, this lesson is also geuen, that we enter our firste places alwaies vpon the right hand, neuer returning backe: but going on still as I might saie in a circuite, till we come to that place where we first beganne. But first before the Images be inuented, the places must be learned perfectly, & therefore one geueth counsaile that we should go into some solitary place where no cõpany is, & there make our places, walking vp and downe fower or fiue times, and calling still to our remembraunce what, and where the places are. And not only to doe this once or twise, but to labour in it two or three daies at seuerall times until we shal be able to tel our places vpõ our fingers ends

And now to make this harde matter some what plaine, I will vse an example. My frende (whom I tooke euer to ber an honest mã) is accused of theste, of adulterie, of rpot, of manslaughter, and of treason, if I would kepe these wordes in my remembraunce, and rehearse them in order as thei were spoken, I must appointe fiue places, the whiche I had nerde to haue so perfectly in my memorie, as could be possible. As for example, I will make these in my Chamber. A doze, a windowe, a presse, a bedstead, and a chimney. Now in the doore, I will set *Cacus* the theefe, or some such notable verlet. In the Window I will place *Venus*. In the Presse I will put *Apicius* that famous Glutton. In the Bedsteade I will set Richarde the thirde King of Englande, or some notable murtherer. In the Chimney I will place the blacke Smythe, or some other notable Traitour. That if one repete these places, and these Images twise or thrise together, no doubte though he haue but a

meane

meane memorie, he ſhall carie awaie the woordes rehearſed with eaſe. And like as he maie doe with theſe fiue woordes, ſo maie he doe with fiue ſcore, if he haue places freſhe in his remembraunce, and doe but vſe hym ſelf to this trade one fortenight together.

Therefore though it ſeme ſtraunge and fooliſhe to theim that knowe it not, yet the learned haue taken this waie, and doubte not but maruailes maie be doen, if one haue places ready made for the purpoſe, and haue them freſhe in his remembraunce. For what other thing els doe thei that appointe Images in certaine places made for that purpoſe, but write (as man would ſaie) vpon Paper, that which is ſpoken vnto them? What maketh the olde man (that for lacke of naturall heate and moyſture, ſcant knoweth his right hande from his lefte) remember in the morning where he laied his purſe all night, but the beddes heade which lightly is the appointed place for all mens purſes, eſpecially ſuche as be waiefairers, and haue but little ſtore. Shall ſome Gentleman plaie blindefolde at the cheſſe, and cannot a learned man bee able to rehearſe vp a ſcore or two of ſtraunge names together. A Neteherd hauyng the charge and kepyng of twentie ſcore hed of Beaſtes in a wilde Fenne, that belong to diuers men, will not onely tell who be the owners of all ſuch cattell, but alſo he will ſhew a man twiſe a weeke where any one is feedyng, and if he want one among the whole, he will tell immediatly what it is, and whoſe it is that is wantyng. Then fonde are they that compt the Arte of memorie ſo harde, ſeyng they will neither proue the hardenes of it, nor yet blouſh at the matter, when they ſee poore Neteherdes go ſo farre beyonde them. How many thinges doeth memorie conteine marueilous to beholde, and much more would, if we were not altogether ſlouthfull, and as careleſſe to keepe, as we are to getте, good thinges I meane, not goods of this worlde. Euery Artificer hath through exerciſe and labour, an artificiall memorie, ſauyng the learned man onely, who hath moſte neede of it aboue all other.

When wee come to a place where we haue not been many a daye before, wee remember not onely the place it ſelfe, but by the place, we call to remembraunce many thynges doen there. Yea ſometymes a window maketh ſome remember, that thei haue ſtolen in their daies ſome thing out of it. Sometimes a Chimney telleth

them

them of many late drinkinges and sitting vp by the fire. Sometimes a Bedsteade putteth them in remembraunce of many good morowes, somtimes a doze, and somtimes a parler. Thus we see places euen without Images, helpe oft the memorie, much more then shall we remember, if we haue bothe places and Images.

But now, because I haue halfe wered the reader with a tedious matter, I will harten hym againe with a mery tale. At the tyme of rebellion in Northfolke, there was a Priest emong all other, adiudged to dye vpon a Gibet in a greene place, a little from the high waie side. This Priest seyng the place at his last ende, stode a while musing with himself, and saied to the cõpanie there. Now Lorde God what a thing is this. It comes to my remembraunce now, that about fowertene yeares paste, I was merie here vpon this bancke, with an other Priest, and wallowyng me doune vpon the Grasse, I saied these woordes: *Hac requies mea in sæculum sæculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam.* The whiche Sentence beyng a Psalme of Dauid, is nothyng els in English: But this is my restyng place for euer and euer, here shall bee my dwellyng, because I haue chosen it. And now (quhe) I finde it to bee euer true, so that I thinke it be Gods will I should dye, and therefore I take it in good worthe, and thus I desire you all to praie for me. Thus we see that the place brought hym in remembraunce of a sentence, spoken fowertene yeares before.

God graunt all rebelles like remembraunce.

Therefore, this knowledge is not to be neglected, no though we doe contempne it, yet we haue the vse of it. For, if we bee fully disposed to remember a thyng, wee doe call vp the memorie, and stirre it to minde thinges therevnto. As if one bee called Wingfielde, and I feare to forget this name, I might remember the wing of a birde, and a greene fielde to walke in. Sometymes we remember the whole, by keepyng in minde some parte of a woorde. As when one is called Crowcrofte, I might by remembryng of a Crowe, the rather minde his name Notwithstanding there be some (emong whom is *Erasmus*) which like not this arte of Memorie, but saie it rather hindereth then helpeth a mans witte. And yet *Tullie* the greatest Orator emong the Romaines, did well allowe it, and proued it good by a naturall reason. For where as we know some thinges (saieth he) onely by vnderstandyng, and some

Remembraunce by thinges like.

by

by the ſenſe of ſeyng, thoſe we keepe beſt in our myndes, whiche we knowe by ſight, and haue marked with our eyes. As for example. When I ſee a Lion, the Image thereof abideth faſter in my mynde, then if I ſhould heare ſome reporte made of a Lion. Among all the ſenſes, the eye ſight is moſte quicke, and conteineth the impreſſion of thinges more aſſuredly, then any of the other ſenſes doe. And the rather when a man bothe heareth and ſeeth a thing (as by artificiall memorie, he doeth almoſt ſee thinges liuely, he doth remember it muche the better. The ſight printeth thinges in a mans memorie, as a ſeale doeth print a mannes name in ware. And therefore, heretofore Images were ſet vp for remembraunce of ſainctes, to be laie mens bookes, that the rather by ſeyng the pictures of ſuche menne, they might be ſtirred to followe their good liuyng. The whiche ſurely had been well doen, if God had not forbidden it. But ſeyng thynges muſt bee doen, not of a good entent, but euen as God hath commaunded, it is well doen that ſuche Idols are cleane taken out of the Churche. Marie for this purpoſe whereof we now write, they would haue ſerued gaily well. Thus the arte is ſone tolde, but the practiſe of it is all. And therefore, if one deſire to excell herein, let hym take paines to gather his places together, and keepe theim well in remembraunce, prouyng by halfe a ſcore, how he ſhalbe able to vſe a. C. And no doubt, but tyme and exerciſe ſhall make hym perfect. For the beſt arte of memorie that can be, is to heare muche, to ſpeake muche, to reade muche, and to write muche. And exerciſe it is that doeth all, when we haue ſaied all that euer we can.

¶ *Of Pronunciation.*

Vtteraunce what it is.

PRonunciation is an apt ordering, both of the voice, countenaunce, and all the whole body accordyng to the worthines of ſuche wordes and matter, as by ſpeache are declared. The vſe hereof is ſuche, for any that liketh to haue praiſe, for tellyng his tale in open aſſembly, that hauyng a good tongue, and a comely countenaunce, he ſhall be thought to paſſe all other, that haue the like vtteraunce: though they haue much better learnyng. The tongue giueth a certaine grace to euery matter, and beautifieth the cauſe in like maner, as a ſweete ſoundyng Lute, muche ſetteth forth a meane deuiſed Ballade. Or as the ſounde of

a good instrument stirreth the hearers, and moueth muche delite, so a cleare sounding voice, comforteth muche our dentie eares, with muche sweete melodie, and causeth vs to allowe the matter, rather for the reporters sake, thē the reporter for the matters sake

Demosthenes saying of pronunciation.

Demosthenes therefore, that famous Orator, beyng asked what was the chiefest pointe in all Oratorie, gaue the chiefe and onely praise to Pronunciation, beyng demaūded, what was the second, and the thirde, he still made aunswere Pronunciation, and would make none other aunswere till they left asking, declaryng hereby, that arte without vtteraunce can doe nothyng, vtteraunce without arte can doe right muche. And no doubte, that man is in outward apparaunce, halfe a good clarke that hath a cleane toung, and a comely gesture of his bodie. *Æschines* likewise, beyng banished his Countrey through *Demosthenes*, when he red to the *Rhodians* his owne Oration, and *Demosthenes* aunswere thereunto, by force whereof he was banished, and all they marueiled much at the excellencie of the same: then (q͛ *Æschines*) you would haue marueiled muche more, if you had heard hymself speake it. Thus beyng cast in miserie and banished for euer, he could not but giue suche greate reporte of his moste deadly and mortall enemie.

Æschines.

The partes of Pronunciation.

PRonunciation standeth partly in fashioning the tongue, and partly in framyng the gesture.

The tongue or voice is praise worthie, if the vtteraunce be audible, strong, and easie, and apte to order as we liste. Therefore, they that minde to get praise in tellyng their minde in open audience, must at the first begynning, speake somewhat softlie, vse meete pausing, and beyng somewhat heated, rise with their voice, as tyme and cause shall beste require. They that haue no good voices by nature, or cannot well vtter their wordes, muste seeke for helpe elswhere. Exercise of the bodie, fastyng, moderation in meate and drinke, gapyng wide, or singyng plaine song, and counterfeictyng those that doe speake distinctly, helpe muche to haue a good deliueraunce. *Demosthenes* beyng not able to pronounce the firste letter of that arte whiche he professed, but would saie, for, *Rhetorike*, *Letolike*, vsed to putte little stones vnder his tongue, and so pronounced, whereby he speake at length so plainly,

ly, as any manne in the worlde could doe. Muſicians in England haue vſed to putte gagges in childrens mouthes, that they might pronounce diſtinctly, but nowe with the loſſe and lacke of Muſicke, the loue alſo is gone of bringing vp children to ſpeake plainly. Some there bee that either naturally, or through folly haue ſuche euill voices, and ſuche lacke of vtterance, and ſuche euill geſture, that it muche defaceth all their doynges. One pipes out his woordes ſo ſmall, through defaulte of his wynde pipe, that ye would thinke he whiſtreled. An other is hource in his throte, that a manne would thinke, he came lately from ſcourying of harneſſe. And other ſpeakes, as though he had Plummes in his mouthe. And other ſpeakes in his throte, as though a good Ale crumme ſtucke faſte. An other rattles his woordes. An other choppes his woordes. An other ſpeakes, as though his woordes had neede to bee heaued out with leauers. An other ſpeakes, as though his woordes ſhould be weighed in a ballaunce. An other gapes to fetch winde at euery thirde woorde. This manne barkes out his Engliſhe Northrenlike, with I ſaie, and thou lad. An other ſpeakes ſo finely, as though he were brought vp in a Ladies Chamber. As I knewe a Prieſte that was as nice as a Nonnes Henne, when he would ſaie Maſſe, he would neuer ſaie *Dominus vobiſcū* but *Dominus vobicum*. In like maner as ſome nowe will ſaye the commaundementes of God. Blacke Uellet, for Commaundementes, and blacke Uelure. Some blowe at their noſtrilles. Some ſighes out their woordes. Some ſynges their ſentences. Some laughes altogether, when thei ſpeake to any bodie. Some gruntes like a Hogge. Some cackles like a Henne, or a Jacke Dawe. Some ſpeakes as though they ſhould tell in their ſleeue. Some cries out ſo loude, that they would make a mannes eares ake to heare theim. Some coughes at euery woorde. Some hemmes it out. Some ſputtes fire, they talke ſo hottely. Some makes a wrie mouth, and ſo they wreſte out their woordes. Some whines like a Pigge. Some ſuppes their woordes vp, as a poore manne doeth his porage. Some noddes their hedde at euery ſentence. An other winckes with one eye, and ſome with both. This man froweth alwaies when he ſpeakes. And other lokes euer as though he wer mad. Some cānot ſpeake but they muſt go vp and

Faltes in pronuncia-tion.

doune

doune, or at the leaſte be ſtirryng their feete, as though they ſtode in a cockeryng Boate. An other will plaie with his cappe in his hande and ſo tell his tale. Some when thei ſpeake in a great companie, will looke all one waie, as I knewe a reader in my daies, who looked in like ſorte when he redde to Scholers, whom one thought to diſapoincte of ſuch his conſtaunt lookes: and therefore againſt the nexte daie, he painted the Deuill with hornes vppon his hedde, in the ſelf ſame place, where the Reader was wonte alwaies to looke, the whiche ſtraunge monſter, when the Reader ſawe, he was halfe abaſhed, and tourned his face an other waie. Some pores vpon the grounde as though they ſought for pinnes. *Tullie* telles of one *Theophraſtus Tauriſcus*, who is ſaied to declaime arſee verſee. Some ſwelles in the face, and filles their chekes full of winde, as though they would blowe out their wordes. Some ſettes forthe their lippes, two inches good beyonde their teeth. Some talkes as though their tongue wente of patines. Some ſhewes all their teeth. Some ſpeakes in their teeth altogether. Some lettes their wordes fall in their lippes, ſcant openyng them when they ſpeake. There are a thouſand ſuche faultes emong menne, bothe for their ſpeache, and alſo for their geſture, the whiche if in their young peres they be not remedied, thei will hardly be forgotte when they come to mannes ſtate. But the rather that theſe faultes maie bee redreſſed: I haue partly declared heretofore, the right vſe of vtterance. And now I mynd by Gods helpe, to ſhewe the right vſe of geſture.

What is geſture.

Geſture, what it is.

GEſture is a certain comely moderation of the countenāce, and all other parts of mans bodie, aptly agreeyng to thoſe thynges wh iche are ſpoken. That if wee ſhall ſpeake in a pleaſaunt matter, it is meete that the looke alſo ſhould bee cherefull, and all the geſture ſtirryng thereafter. The hedde to bee holden vpright, the forehedde without frounyng, the browes without bendyng, the noſe without blowyng, the eyes quicke and pleaſaunt, the lippes not laied out, the teeth without grennyng, the armes not muche caſte abroade, but comely ſette out, as time and cauſe ſhall beſt require: the handes ſometymes opened, and ſomtymes holden together, the fingers pouncteyng, the breaſte laied

out,

out, and the whole bodie stirryng altogether, with a semely moderation. By the whiche behauiour of our bodie after suche a sorte, we shall not onely delite men with the sight, but perswade them the rather the truthe of our cause.

Q. Hortensius had suche delite to vse comely gesture, and had suche grace in that behalfe: that I doubt whether men had a greater desire to see hym, then they had to heare hym. His countenance so well agreed with his woordes, and his woordes were so meete for his countenaunce: that not onely he did please the iudgemente of his heartes, and contented their minde: but also he pleased their eyes, and delited their eares, so muche as could be wished. Hortensius.

Tullie saieth well: The gesture of manne, is the speeche of his bodie, and therefore reason it is, that like as the speeche muste agree to the matter, so muste also the gesture agree to the mynde, for the eyes are not giuen to man onely to see, but also to shewe, and set forthe the meanyng of his minde, euen as vnto a Boye, are giuen byselles: To a Lion, the taile: to a Horse, his eares: whereby their inclinations and sodaine affections are sone espied. When we see a manne looke redde in the eyes, his browes bent, his teethe bityng his vpper lippe, wee iudge that he is out of patience. Therefore as wee ought to haue good regarde, for the vtteraunce of our woordes, so we ought to take heede that our gesture bee comely, the whiche beyng well obserued, shall encrease fame, and get estimation vniuersally.

But heare an ende. And nowe as my will hath been earneste, to doe my best: so I wish that my paines may be taken thereafter. And yet what needes wishyng, seyng the good will not speake euill: and the wicked cannot speake well. Therefore beyng staied vpon the good, and assured of their gentle hearing with me: I feare none, because I stande vpon a sure grounde.

A Table to finde out suche matter as is conteined in this Booke, firste by the Leafe, and nexte by the Page, or side of the Leafe.

A

ABatyng, or lessening of a thyng. xcii.i.
Abbate being grosse & fat mocked of a countrie man. lxxi.
Abraham. 25.1
Abraham how he is saied to be the father of many nations. 97.2
Abusion what it is. 89.1
Aduersaries reasons when they should best be confuted 5.1
Aegyptians what order they vse to banishe Idelnesse. 14.2
Aeschines 119.1
Affections must be moued. 2.2
Affections how thei should be moued. 66.2
Affections muste firste bee stirred in hym, that seeketh to stirre other. 68.2
Affectation in speaking Englishe fonde and straunge. 83.
Allegorie what it is. 90.1
Alceites wife. 29.2
After manne was made, the womā was ioined vnto him. 21.2
Alphonsus kyng of Naples, mocked by his Jester. 73.2
Alteryng parte of a woorde, how, and what it is. 2.2
Ambiguitie. 53.1
Amplification 59.2
Amplificatiō what it is, and how it is deuided. 62.1
Amplificatiō by cōparing of thynges, & encreasing of ẏ least. 63.
Amplification by examples. 63.2
Amplification by cōtraries. 64.1
Amplificatiō by lessening of great faultes to make other seme greter. 64.2
Amplification by praisyng the vnworthy the rather that an other maie haue more praise. 65.1
Amplificatiō by cōiectures. 65.2
Amplification by thinges encreased, and diminished. 65.1
Anaxagoras pacience. 41.2
Anticipation what it is. 96.1
A Philosophers wittie saiyng to a yong man, that sought to speake darke language. 2.1
Aptnesse what it is. 84.2. 89.2.1
Argumentes when they shoulde chiefly be vsed. 5.1
Argumentes how they should bee digested. 71.1
Arte surer guide then nature. 3.1
Arte to what stede it serueth. 81.2
Arthemisia. 29.2
Assured truthe what it is. 17.2
Askyng other, and aunswerying our self. 93.2
Attemptes worthie. 7.1
Athenians forbad Prefaces, and Conclusions. 59.2
Augmentyng, or diminishyng, to moue laughter. 74.2

Augustus

Augustus fauourable to Maried folke that had children. 23.1
Augustus abashed at a boyes aunswere 78.2
Augustine. 100.3.2.

B

Backebytyng set forthe by Amplification. 60.1
Babarous Clarkes, no better then slouens. 82.2
Beldames blinde answere. 73.1
Beginnyng of an Oration what it is 51.1
Better borne a begger, then dye a begger. 19.1
Better not to hurte a good matter by euill speache, then to further it by good talke. 5.1
Bibulus pacience for losse of his children. 42.1
Blaming other, how it is said. l.ij
Brute beastes nature for mournyng. 39.2
Buttresse what it is. 95,2

C

Catoes saiyng to him that stroke hym, and had hym beware. 77.2
Cardinall aunswered pleasauntly by a Souldiour. 72.2
Causes not liked for three causes. 53.1
Chalengyng, or refusyng, when they are vsed. 49.2
Change of name, what it is. 89.2
Chaungyng part of a letter, word or sillable. 72.2
Churlishe aunswerees delite sometymes. 77.2
Circumstaunces in praising. 9.2
Circumstaunces necessary to bee noted in all causes. 4.2
Circumstances in obseruyng profite. 19.2
Circumlocution. 89.2
Close vnderstādīg what it is 92.1
Commons what it is. 18.1
Composition out of course. 85.1
Commendyng 32
Comfortyng the afflicted 33.2
Commodus themperour 40.2
Comparyng a fault doen, howe it is vsed 50.2
Composition 85.1
Comprehension what it is. 103
Conclusion what it is. 4.1.57.2 58.2
Confessyng what it is 50.1
Cōfirmatiō what it is. 4.1.58.2
Confirmation to proue matters out of Logique 58.1
Confirmation gathered of the persone. 57.2
Confutatiō what it is. 4.1.58.1
Coniectures 8.78.1
Colours of Rhetorique what they are 90.2
Colours of Rhetorique likened to the eye sight 90.2
Coniecturall state or issue. 45.2
Conuersion what it is 102.2
Constant truthe what it is. 17.2
Contrary lawes 48.2
Continuaunce what it is 18.2
Contrarietie 101.2
Cornelia 41.2

Correction 63.95
Counsaile and good aduise giuen. 7.2
Craines what straunge order thei vse 97.2
Curio passing in forgetfulnes. 108
Custome without natures groūd vngodly. 17.2
Cyneas memorie, notable 107.2
Cyrus memorie how great it was 104.1

D

DAnae that faire Damosell howe she was deceiued 100.2
Dauid commended for killyng Goliath 9.2
Dauid bewailyng the sicknesse of his sonne 40.1
Death common to all 37.1
Death purchaseth rest 38.1
Definition alwaies needfull to be knowen. 44.2
Definition how it should bee vsed in causes criminall. 44.2
Deformitie of body moueth mirth 74.1
Delityng needfull 2.2
Demosthenes tale of the Asses shadowe 52.1
Demosthenes saiyng of pronunciation 111.2
Demonides saiyng, when he had lost his shoes 78.1
Descriptiō of a vilas nature 95.2
Description of persone 91.2
Description of an euill and wicked offence. 87.2
Difference betwixt a cōmō iester and a pleasaunt wiseman. 71.1
Differēce betwixt a iest in a word and a long tale 74.1
Digestion what it is. 101.2
Digression or swerueyng 92.2
Diminution 62.1
Diogenes beeyng called barlette what he saied 79.1
Diogenes whilst or warnyng giuyng. 101.2
Diogenes. 74.1.75.2
Disposition and apte orderyng of thynges 80.1
Disposition what it is 3.2
Dissemblyng or couerte Iestyng 74.2
Dissemblyng pleasauntly 82.2
Distribution 94.2
Diuision 4.1
Diuision of example 97.1
Diuision of figures 87.1
Diuision of Tropes 88.1
Diuisiō of figures in a word 90.1
Diuision of states or issues in causes of iudgement 45.2
Diuision of causes iuridic. 50.2
Diuision of howe many partes it must be made 55.2
Diuision of propositions 57.1
Dogge of a Romaines, how thankfull he was 98.2
Doues 97.2
Doubtfulnes 94.2
Doubletters what they are 102.1
Dragon howe thankfull he was. 98.1
Duke of Burbone and his Charles

les his brother 7.1.8.2

E

Easinesse of trauaile 16.1
Duration of a noble 7.1
Euall members what they are 104.1
Eloquẽce by what meanes it maie be atteigned. 2.2
Elocution what it is 3.1
Elocution an apt chosyng of wordes and sentences 8.1
Eloquẽce mẽ moste esteemed. 82.1
Enteraunce what it is 4.1
Enteraunce into any matter, two waies deuided. 51.1
Enteraunce apt. 54.1
Entraũce apt for preachers. 54.1
Endyng like, and fallyng like, what they are. 103.1
Eremite of Italie notable for his leude life, and his aunswere vpon his examination. 76.2
Errour what it is. 15.2
Essens haters of mariage. 30.1
Euill to liue emong the euill. 37.1
Euident settyng forth of a matter 91.1
Example what it is 95.1
Example how it maie be enlarged by copie. 99.1
Example of commendyng a noble personage. Ibidem.
Example in commendyng of Iustice. 12.2
Exhortation 22.2
Exhornation what it is. 86.2

F

Fabia Dolobella wittely mocked of Tullie. 79.1
Fables moste needefull sometymes to be tolde. 109.2
Fables well tolde, are right profitable. Ibidem. 1
Fame foloweth worthy feats 33.1
Familiare and pleasaunte aduise giuen 70 8.1
Familiare talke vsed 95 2
Fasting set forth by diuisiõ. 56.2
Fauour winnyng, and affections mouyng, when they are mooste necessary. 4.2
Frende of mine ridyng to a Faire to buye Horse, mocked of another man 71.1
Faultes in compolition 85.1
Frenesse of speache 102.1
Frier how he was asked, when he preached of mans soule. 74.2
From the least to the moste. 13.2
Figure of Rhetorique what it is, and diuision of the same. 86.2
Figure of a word what it is. 90.1
Figures to what vse thei are. 95.2
Figures in sentences called Schemes 102.1
Fiue thynges to bee considered in an Orator. 3.2
Folly in many that go to the lawe 19.2
Folly of them that lament the departure of their frendes. 36.2
Folly, and lacke of witte, giue occasion of pastyme 77.2
Fortitude what it is 10.1
Fower thinges obserued for choise

of woꝛdes. 84.2

G

Gentleman beyng sure to a maide, and after losyng her, how he was answered by a noble man. 72.2
Gesture what it is. 112.2
Giauntes fighting against nature what thei signifie. 26.1
Good heede to be taken at the first in handelyng a matter in Judgemente. 5.2
Good to bee bolde in moste daunger, if otherwise wee can not escape. Ibidem.1
Good will, makes greate burdeines light. 16.1
Goodes lent, muste be restoꝛed at the owners will. 38.1
Goꝛgias. 7.2
Gradation what it is. 104.1
Graunting to other, that thei wil not graunt to vs. 79.1
Grecians reuengemẽt foꝛ aduouterie. 25.1

H

Hearers howe they should be made attentiue 51.2
Hearers good will, how it should be gotte. 52.2
Hebrues Lawe foꝛ maried folke. Folio. 22.2
Hebrues stoned adulterers. 23.2
Hebrues curse. 27.2
Hercules labours, what they signifie. 100.1
Hieromes praise vpõ virgi. 27.
Hipsicratea. 29.2
Heliogabalus. 7.2.81
Hollanders wittie deuise. 73.1
Honestie comprehendeth all Uertues. 15.2
Honeste names giuen to an euill thyng. 75.1
Honorablenes what it is. 18.1
Hope of reward maketh men take paines. Ibidem.2
Horace Puluius pacience, foꝛ the losse of his childe 42.1
Hotte and moiste bodies sone conceiue. 107.1

I

Iacob. 25.2.37
Icarus. 100.1
Iealousie vnknowẽ to wise men 29.2
Ientlenesse what it is. 18.2
Iesting, when it should be spared Folio. 71.1
Images howe they must be vsed foꝛ remembraunce. 106.1
Imitation oꝛ folowing the waies of wisemen, is nedefull. 3.1
Impacience without cõfoꝛt. 11.1
Inclination of nature. 7.1
Insinuation what it is. 51.1.4.1
Intellection what it is. 89.1
Interpretatiõ of a lawe, called the state Legall, what it is. 48.2
Interpretation of a woꝛde. 72.2
Inuention, what it is. 3.2
Iobs pacience in aduersitie. 38.2
Italian pleasauntly askynge an Englishemanne a question, in Rome toune. 78.2
Iudgemẽt giuen what it is. 18.1

Isis. 100.1
Julia. 29.2
Justice commended. 12.2
Justice what it is, and how largely it extendeth. 13.1
Justice natural in euery one of vs Folio. Ibidem.1
Justice necessary for al men. 13.2
Justice easie to be obserued, if wil be not wantyng. 14.2
Justice what it is. 16.2
Julius Cesar. 42.2
Julius Cesar of what greate remembraunce he was. 110.2
Juridiciall, state, or Issue. 46.1

L

Laughter mouyng, and how many thynges are to bee considered in that behalfe. Folio. 48.2
Lawes of Englande 16.1
Laws profitable for ẏ purse. 18.2
Lawes maintaine life. 20.1
Lawfull emong the Hebrues, for the maried to kill the aduouterer. 23.2
Lawes cōtrary, haue foure lessōs to be obserued 48.2
Lawiers neuer die beggers. 19.2
Lawyers readie to espie doubtes. 49.2
and pleasauntly noted by their owne saiynges.
Letter full of ynke horne termes. 82.2
Lent gooddes must be restored at the owners will 38.2
Letter of comforte to the Duches grace of Suffolke. 34.2
Lia beeyng barrein, thought to be out of Gods fauour. 22.2
Liberalitie, commended with heapes of sentences. 61.1
Liberalitie winneth mens hartes 103.1
Licurgus Law against vnmaried folke. 23.2
Liyng pretely mocked. 79.2
Life, the right waie to death. 38.1
Likenesse of thinges emong them selues. 103.1.104.1
Lion, how thankfull he was. 98.2
Logique muste be learned for confirmation of causes 12.2
Lowlines, set out by ampli. 59.2

M

Man, what he is cōcerning the bodie. 42.2
Anhode, what it is. 18.1
Mariage firste ordeined by God. 21.1
Mariage beautified by mir. 22.1
Mariage naturall. 24.2
Mariage emong trees, & precious stones. 24.1
Mariage betwene the firmament and the yearth. 24.2
Mariage generally estemed. 26.2
Mariage honorable. 22.1
Matrimony renued after the flood 21.2
Matter whereupon an Oratoure must speake 1.1
Matters in generall, stande in 4. poinctes. 4.2
Matters honest.

Matters

Matters filthie. } iiij.ij
Matters doubtfull. }
Matters trieselyng.
Matters harde to auoyde, shoulde be past ouer as though we sawe them not at all 5.1
Memory, how it is preser. 113.2
Memorie, what it is 121.1
Memorie, what it is 3.2
Menenius Agrippa pacified a rebellion by a fable. 101.1
Metall trier, kindely mocked for his glorius vauntyng. 94.1
Milo defended by Tullie, for kyllyng of Clodius 50.1
Miserie of this world, makes werinesse of life. 42.2
Midas 100.1
Mirth makyng, good at the beginnyng 53.2
Mirth, how many waies it is moued. 69.2
Mirth, moued by openig a waighty matter, and not fully knowen. 74.2
Mithridates worthy me. 107.2
Mockyng pleasauntly, by callyng a foole deceiptfull 92.2
Modestie, what it is 18.2
Mouyng of pitie. 33.2
Mountyng aboue the truth. 93.2

N

Narration. 4.1
Narration, what it is and how it is diuided. 54.2
Narration, in iudge. 55.1
Narration in praisyng, and counsaile giuyng. 55.2
Nature what it is. 17.1
Naturall loue, what it is 17.1
Natures worke allowed by Godes worde 24.
Nature of brute beastes. 39.2
Nasica his prety answer to Ennius, whē he asked for him at his house 76.1
Necessary, two waies takē. 16.1
Necessitie enforceth mari. 30.2
Nero the Emperour. 40.2
Noble personages, how thei shuld be praised. 6.1

O

Odious scurrilitie. 22.
Old tales rehersed, to make sporte. 74.1
Pimius, pleasauntly mocked by one Egilius. 76.2
Order of what sort. 80.1. 106.1
Orpheus ỳ Musicia, how cunning he was in his calling, & what is mēt by his wōderous doin. 24.2
Orations in generall consist vpon seuen partes. 4.1
Orationōs, or causes of 3. kind. 6.1
Oration demonstratiue. 6.2
Orationō demōstratiue of a dede 9.1
Oration deliberatiue. 16.1
Oration iudiciall what it is. 64.2
Orationō cōiectural what it is. 46.2
Oration coniecturall vpon a murther committed. 47.1
Oration of right, or wrong, what it is. 49.2
Oration of right or wrong vppon manslaughter. 50.1
Orators bolde to performe three thinges

thynges 1.2
Oratours must vse delitefull wordes and saiynges 2.1
Oratours must haue fiue thynges to make them perfecte 3.2
Oratours of necessitie, must haue three especiall thynges 51.2
Oratour that thought he had moued pitie, mocked 77.2
Ouermuch neuer yet good 100.1

P

Pacience praise worthie in aduersitie 43.2
Artes of prudence 16.2
Passions 34.2
Paulus Emilius moste godly desire 42.1
Passage to an other matter, what it is 93.1
Pausanias pleasaunte saiyng to a Phisician 78.2
Persians had many wifes. 25.1
Pericles pacience 41.2
Persones pleasaunt answer, cariyng his woman behinde 72.2
Phauorinus 7.2
Philosophers worthie saiyng to a yong mā that sought to speake darke language 2.1
Philosophers diuided 56.2
Pistorie men harde mocked 76.1
Pittie mouyng 33.2
Places of Logique, moste nedeful to be known 58.1
Places to encrease and sette forth the euill of a wicked dede. 67.1
Places of memorie how thei must be vsed 107.1
Places of praisyng 7.1
Places of exhortation 32.2
Places to confirme thynges, gathered by coniecture 47.1
Places of confirmatiō in matters of right and wrong 57.2
Place of confirmatiō, when a fault is graunted 57.1
Plain telling of the matter, moste nedefull for an Oratour 55.2
Plainesse how it might be. 5.54.2
Plainesse what it is 82.2
Plain words proper vnto an or i.
Platoes saiyng to Antiste. 70.1
Pleasauntnesse in a saiyng 70.3
Pleasures largely set out. 15.2
Pleasaunt sportyng twoo waies vsed 75.2
Pleasaunt aunsweres contrary to our lokyng, delite muche. 71.1
Plinius counsatle for handlyng of causes 45.1
Plutarch for encrease of iss. 22.2
Poeticall narratiōs profita. 99.2
Pontidius howe he was mocked. 71.1
Poetes vnder colour shewe much wisedome 99.2
Porcia 29.2
Praise worthy to mary 21.1
Praisyng, & therewithall dispraisyng one & the same man. 67.1
Preachers what order they vse. 59.2
Preachers 55.2
Preachers not so diligently heard as common plaiers 2.1
Preachers must sometimes be mery

ry when they speake to the. 2.2.
Preachers what order they vsed 55.1
Praisyng a deede. 32.2
Practise maketh all thynges perfecte 2.2
Praises parted threefolde, in commendyng a man 6.2
Priestes woordes, goyng to his death 110.1
Priestes mariage 26.2
Preuention what it is 96.1
Probable how it might be vs. 55.1
Profite of Justice 14.1
Profite how largely it exten. 15.2
Profite beareth the name of goodnesse whiche is threefolde. 15.2
Progression what it is 103.1
Pronunciation, what it is 3.2
Proposition 4.1.92.1
Propositions what they are. 61.1
Prouerbes alledged, help amplification 61.1
Prudence, what it is 16.2

Q

Questiõs to be spokẽ
Questions of it. sorts } 1.1
Questions infinite
Questions definite.
Questions definite belõg properly to an Oratour 1.2
Questions infinite proper to logicians 1.2
Quintus Martius sufferaũce 42.1

R

Reasoning a matter, what it is 105.2
Eiection, what it is 95.1
Religion, what it is 17.1
Remẽbraunce by thing like. 110
Repeatyng of thynges saied before 93.1
Repetition, what it is 102.2
Restyng vpon a poinete what it is 90.2
Returnyng to the purpose, what it is 93.1
Reuengemente forbidden, and set out by amplification 60.2
Reuerence 17.2
Right by custome what it is 17.
Right and meete to mary. 21.1
Right by lawe, what it is 18.1
Ripe thinges last not long 43.1
Rimed sentences vsed without reson 103.2
Rimes made to mocke the simple. there.
Rhetorique what it is 1.1
Rhetorique, occupied about all lawes there
Rhetorique, what ende it hath. 1.2
Rhetorique, first made by wisemẽ and not wisemen made firste by it. 3.1
Rhetorique, for what purpose it is set forthe. 3.1
Rhetorique, to what purpose it serueth. there.
Rhetorique, what it teacheth for orderyng of thynges. 80.2
Romaine Lawes for Churche dignities. 19.1
Ropripe chidyng 84.1
Rouyng without reason 44.2

S

Saguntines

Saguntines how faithfull thei were 50.2
Saincte Christopher what he signified 100.1
Saincte George what he signified 100.2
Salust saiyng to Tullie, and his wittie aunswere to hym again 79.2
Sauegarde had by Justice. 14.1
Seruantes answere to his master cōmyng from a sermone. 72.2
Scurrilitie odious. 2.2
Sheme what it is 90.1
Sentence gathered, helpe amplification 60.2
Sergius Galba ouerthwarte answere 73.2
Shadowe of an Asse, occasion of greate debate 52.1
Shape euill fourmed moueth pastime 74.1
Shame foloweth fearfulnes, whē manhode is nedefull 33.1
Shiftyng faultes from vs, how it is saied 50.2
Similitude what it is 56.1
Simonides first founder of the art of remembraunce 108.2
Slaunder proued by amplificatio, a greater offence then Thefte. 63.2
Snappishe askyng 94.1
Snudging wittely rebuked. 73.1
Sobrietie what it is 18.2
Socrates 25.2
Sorowe nedelesse, when necessitie ruleth 36.2
Sorowe immoderate, not natural 39.2
Souldiour macked pleasauntly of his owne man 79.2
Spaniardes doubte 105.1
Staggues how lōg thei liue 42.2
State generally what it is. 45.1
State in iudgemente what it is 45.2
State why it is so called 45.2
Stomacke griefe 102.1
Straunge thynges nedefull to be tolde 53.2
Straunge reportes helpe for amplification 91.
Storkes what nature they. 64.1
Scoutenesse what it is 17.2
Sufferaunce what it is 18.2
Surfeityng rebuked by am. 47.2

T.

Tacitus 103.2
Tantalus 101.
Temperaunce what it is 18.2
Thankefulnesse what it is 57.1
The person before whē we speake must be well marked 5.2
The house or auncestrie whereof a noble personage commeth 7.1
Themistocles memorie 107.1
Themistocles perswasiō to the Atheniens, by a fable 101.1
Thynges gathered by a mannes saiyng, otherwise then he ment 78.1
Thinges notable or straunge help well for amplification 61.2
Thracians lamente at birthe, and reioyce

reioyce at buriall 38.2
Tobias pacience 41.2
Transmutation of a worde. 89.1
Transmutation what it is. 89.2
Trauaile harde to whom 16.1
Trees not accuessed, because Apples fall from them 40.2
Trees liue longer then men. 42.2
Tropes howe they were founde 87.1
Trope what it signifieth 88.1
Turnyng of a worde 73.1
Tiberius Ceasar 42.1
Tyme must be obserued 5.2
Tyme of departyng life 7.2
Time a remedy for fooles to putte awaie sorowe 40.1
Timon an hater of cōpa. 28.2

V

VErtues. 4. in nomber. 16.2
Napte vsyng of apt words 74.2
Vlpianus 33.1
Vnnaturalnes in man 14.1
Vibius Curius pleasauntly mocked of Tullie 79.2
Virginitie. 26.2
Vnthankfulnes rebuked 97.2
Vnthankfulnes punished 98.1
Vtteraunce what it is 91.1

W

WAntyng of thynges, make pastyme. 78.2
Arenesse in speakyng, and forbearyng to speake. 5.2
Wepyng eyes 68.2
Whisht or warning giuen. 101.2
Willyam Somer. 102.1
Wishyng, right pleasaunt 77.2
Wittes forgetfull 108.
Wittie deuised tale 71.2
Wittie iesting 90.2
Wo of this world, declared. 30.8
Women rebuked. 56.1
Women by practise waxe eloquēt 2.2
Wordes doubtfully spoken. 72.1
Wordes taken, and not 73.1
Worde makyng what it is 88.2
Wrong dealyng deserueth death. 13.2
Wifes euill, happen to euill. 29.2
Wordes ouerthwart 73.2

X

Xerxes 31.1

Y

YSsue what it is 45.2
Nke horneletter 83.1
Oung Storkes. 13.3

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM